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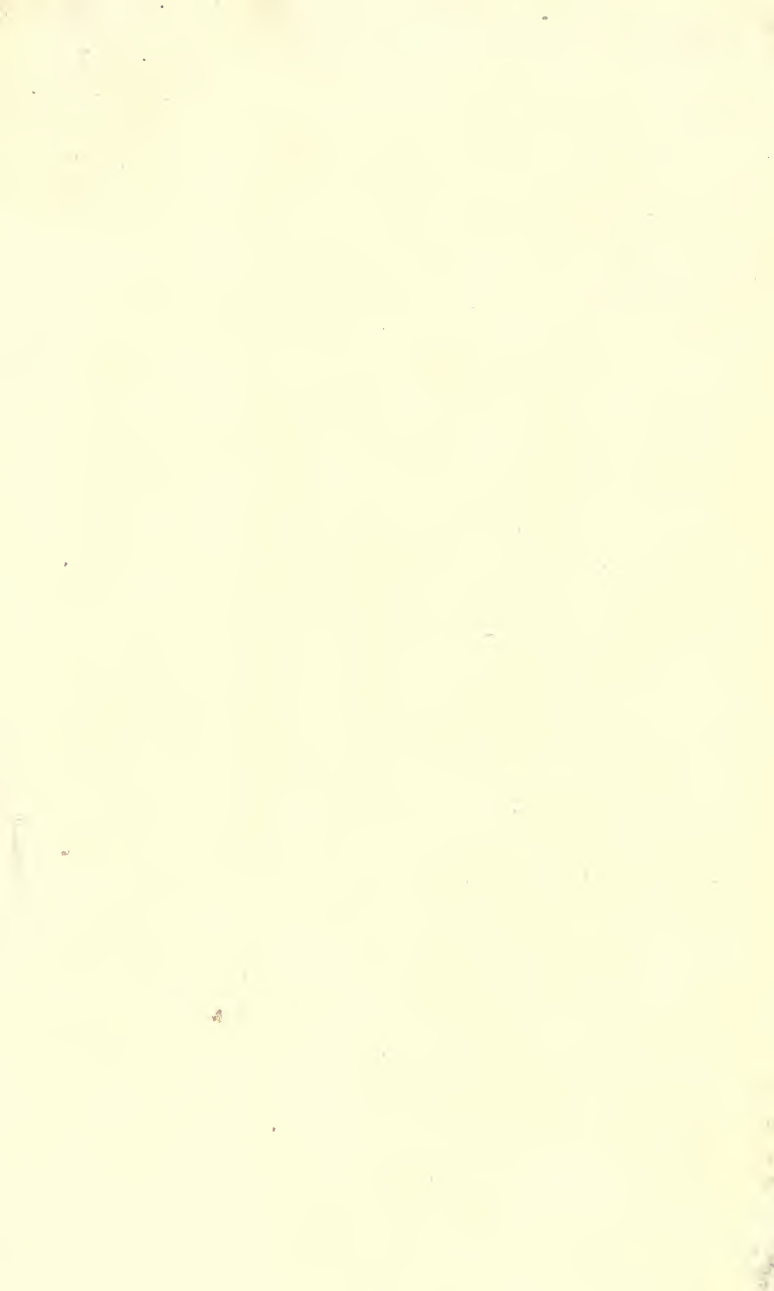
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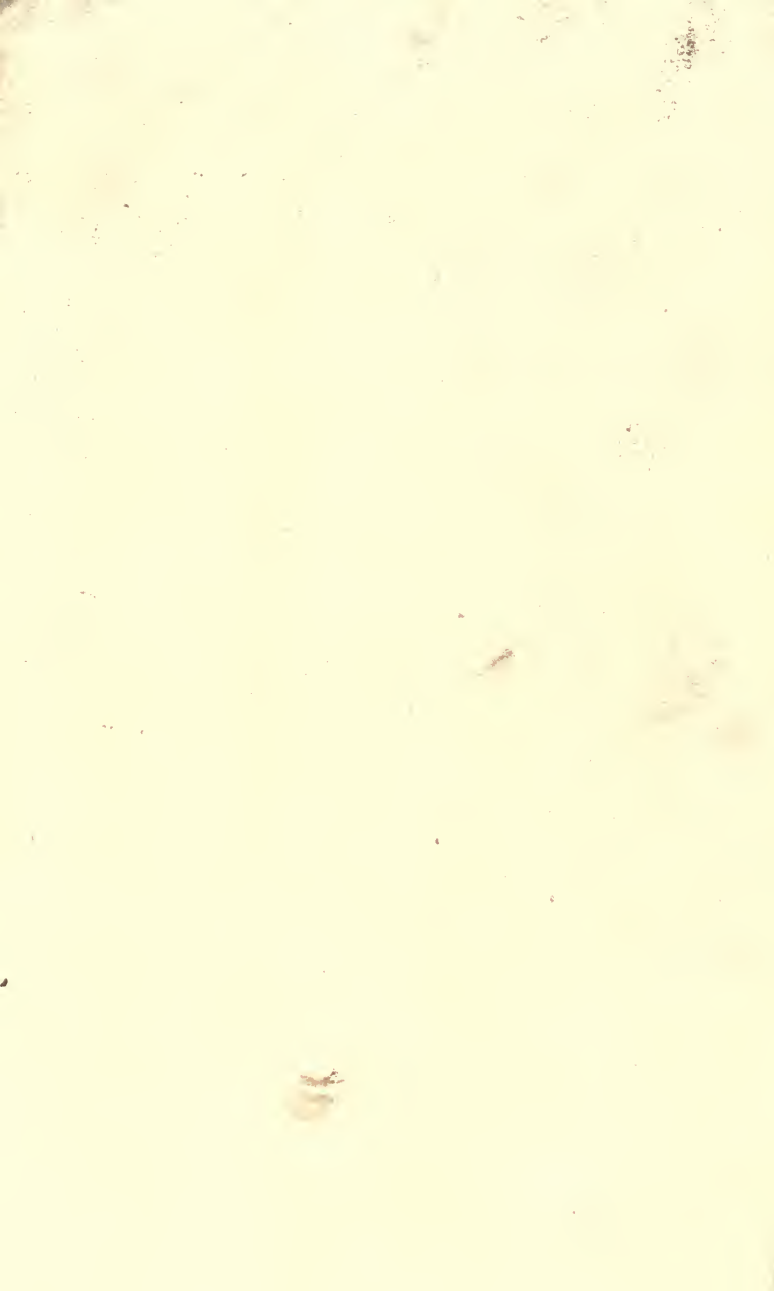
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Imprimatur,

*Guliel. Wigan R^{mo} in Christo
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phredo, Episc. Lond. à
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Nov. 14.

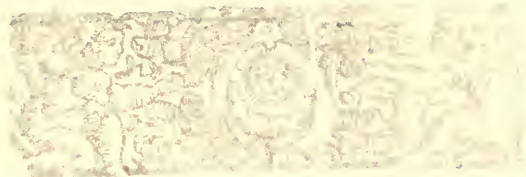
1674.

AN
ANSWER
TO
Mr. CRESSY'S
Epistle Apologetical
TO A
Person of Honour
Touching his
VINDICATION
OF
Dr. Stillingfleet.

By *Edw. Stillingfleet D.D.* Chaplain in
Ordinary to His Majesty.

LONDON,
Printed by *R. White*, for *Hen. Mortlock* at the
Phoenix in *S. Paul's Church-yard*, and the
White Hart in *Westminster Hall*. 1675.







TO THE
SUPERIOURS
OF THE
BENEDICTINS
IN
ENGLAND.

Gentlemen,

Find it disputed among your Casuists, whether a Book written by a Member of Your Order, doth belong to the Author
or

or to the Society; the Arguments I confess are very weighty on both sides; For in behalf of the Society it is pleaded with great reason, that by the Rules of your Order, no particular Member is to have property in any thing; and in behalf of the Author, that a Book being the proper issue of his own Brain, cannot belong to any one else: Caramuel, finding the difficulties so great, undertakes to resolve the Case by a very subtle distinction of the Paper and Ink of which the Book is composed, and the Conceptions of the mind contained therein; the

Caramuel. Com-
mentar.
in Regul.
S. Bened.
n. 831.

the former he gives to the Society, and the latter to the Author, which he proves very substantially; for, saith he, the conceptions of the Book being the outward images of what was only in the mind of the Author can belong to no other than to him that formed them; but against this ariseth a shrewd objection, that by this means every man hath right to the Picture that is made of him, and the Painter only to the Canvas and Colours. To which he answers very gravely, that the Picture is not properly the immediate representation of

(a)

the

the Person, but of that Idea of him which was in the fancy of the Painter. But upon this another Controversie arises (as we find every day that one doth beget another) whether that propriety which the Author hath in the Conceptions of his Book, can be disposed of by way of Legacy, or no; and all the resolution I can meet with is, that it is probable he may; but on the other side, the Superiours of the Order may make use of the contrary probability, and challenge the Book for their own.

It is very well known to
You,

You, that Mr. Cressy was lately a Member of Your Order, who was the Author of the Book, to which this following Answer is made; What Right You have challenged in it I know not, but I think it not likely he should dispose of it to any but to Your selves; since he saith, his first writing against me was by his Superiours command, and in this Book he declares, that what he writes was not his own opinion alone; and therefore it is probable you may have some right to the conceptions, as well as to the Paper and Ink.

(a 2)

Since

Since his death (which I knew not of till I had undertaken this Service and Duty in behalf of a Person of Honour to whose Kindness I am so extreamly obliged) I know not to whom so properly to address my self, as to You, who were his Superiours; especially since there are so many things in it wherein the Honour of Your Order is concerned; to which I assure you I bear no malice, no more than I do to Your Persons, or to Mr. Cressy's memory. If I am guilty of mistakes, I beseech you to correct them with the same

same civility that I writ them.
I have of late been somewhat
used to writing, but I am yet
to learn the Art and terms of
Railing, and I hope I shall not
find that any such Legacies are
bequeath'd to you by any of your
Order. I am

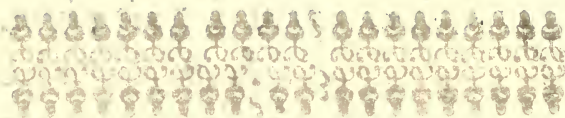
Gentlemen,

Your humble Ser-
vant,

London, Nov.

14. 1674.

Edw Stillingfleet.



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CHAD

1957

CHAP. II.

Of the County of Franklin and State of New York

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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.



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To my L^d. C.

My Lord,

Since Your Lordships going from London, Mr. Cressy's *Epistle Apologetical* to a Person of Honour touching his *Vindication* of Dr. Stillingfleet came to my hands; and bears date,

date, from his Cell, March 21. A. D. 1674. being the Anniversary day of S. Benedict. And he is not only thus punctual in the date of his *Epistle*, but he begins it with a very particular account, in what manner the Person of Honour's Book was sent to him; viz. by the Letter-Post, but partly to abate charges and likewise to disguise the shape of a Book, it was folded up in loose sheets with all the Margins close pared to the very quick. After I had observed so much niceness in these, not very material circumstances, I could hardly expect that the least line of the Book should escape without numbering the words, syllables, and letters in it, and giving every one a distinct and punctual confutation. But I soon found several considerable parts gently passed over, and

and indeed by the very bulk of his Book, I presently perceived, that he was more curious to give the World an account, how the other came to him, than careful to answer it. For if he had treated every thing that was of like moment with equal exactness, it might very well have passed for the *Second Tome* of his *Ecclesiastical History*. And in truth, the matter of some part of it, is not much unlike, for he tells so long a story in the middle of it of the *Kindness of some and the unkindness of others in England to him, and of the Books he had written*, that it looked very like a *Legend of himself*; only I do not find any *Miracles* he had done in any of them.

Before he comes to his *Apologie* for himself, he takes great care to
make

make me understand the mighty obligation laid upon me, by that *Person of Honour*, who was pleased with so much *Kindness* to undertake my Vindication from the impetuous assaults of an enraged Adversary. Which I was so justly sensible of before, that Mr. *Cressy* might have spared his pains; for surely it was no small Favour to be delivered from the paws of so fierce a Creature, as he appeared to be in his former Book; but to have it done in so obliging a manner, by a *Person* of so great *Honour* and *Abilities*, was as much beyond my presumption to hope for, as it is now above my Power to requite. I wish I were a *Person* of that *Credit* and *Interest* to be able to express my Gratitude in that very way Mr. *Cressy* directs me to; for of all things I desire to avoid the odious character

character and brand of Ingratitude. But since I make so small a Figure in publick affairs, the utmost I can do, is to save that *Honourable Person* the farther trouble of making *Animadversions* on this *Epistle Apologetical*. Which is written with that shew of humility and respect, that those who look only on the appearance, would imagine him strangely come off from the rage and fury he was in, when he writ his former Book; but if we observe more carefully his sly reflections and crafty insinuations, we shall find that he hath only learnt to dissemble his passion, and to do the same mischief with a fawning Countenance.

The first part of his *Epistle* is wholly spent in *Vindication* of himself as to the sharpness of Style and
bitter

bitter *Invectives* he had used against me, which I shall briefly consider before I come to the more material parts of his Book.

CHAP.



CHAP. I.

Of Mr. Cressy's Apologie for the Sharpness of his Style,

§. I.



R. Cressy in his Preface to *Sancta Sophia* Preface n. 33. p. 23.

finding it necessary to put some shew of difference between the pretences to extraor-

dinary illuminations in *F. Baker's* way, and those of the *Fanatick Sectaries* among us, hath unhappily pitched upon this for one of them; That the lights here desired and prayed for, are such as do expell all Images of Creatures, and do calm all manner of

B

passions,

passions ; to the end that the soul being in a vacuity, may be more capable of receiving and entertaining God in the pure fund of the Spirit. Could any one after these words, have expected to have found this recommender of *Mystical Divinity*, foaming and raging with the violence of passion, and so tormented with the creatures of his own *imagination* ; that he could not forbear expressing it to that degree in his *Book*, as deserved rather the pitty, than the answer of his Adversary ? This the *Person* of Honour took just notice of, in the beginning of his *excellent Discourse*, and won-

P. 7.

“ dered what insupportable provocation
 “ was given to him, that he could not re-
 “ strain so free a vent of his unmanly pas-
 “ sions : but upon an impartial view of the
 “ places in my *Book* at which Mr. *Cressy*
 “ was so highly offended, he did at first ra-
 “ ther think he was not the *Author* of the
 “ *Book* he answers, than that he should be
 “ guilty of so much bitterness and unrea-
 “ sonable passion : but when the reasons
 “ were so many to convince him, that he
 “ was the *Author*, he had rather still lay
 “ the fault of his manner of writing upon
 “ the commands of his *Superiours*, than
 “ his own temper and inclination. Upon
 this Mr. *Cressy* makes many Apologies for
 the

P. 17, 19,
20.

the sharpness of his style against me ; and spins out a great part of his Epistle on this subject ; which he needed not to have done, with any regard to me, as though I were concerned at it ; for I assure him, if I would wish an Adversary to write so, as to do the least prejudice to me, and the greatest to himself and his Cause, I would wish him to write just after that Copy ; and I cannot easily think of a provocation great enough to make me follow his example. But he pleads for himself, that Charity it self sometimes requires sharpness of style and even bitter (that is, uncharitable) In-

vestives. I suppose he means such a sort of Catholick Charity, as first damns us, and then brings railing accusations against us : and I do not question, but he that pleads for bitter Invectives out of meer Charity, could make as fine an harangue to shew not only the admirable Charity, but even the Mercy of Fire and Faggot : and he knows the charitable method of the Inquisition is, first to put on the Sanbenits, representing the Persons with Pictures of Devils upon them, and then to carry them to execution. I remember I have read that Machiavils Son being summoned to appear before the Court of Inquisition, to answer to some things laid to his Charge ; the

*Epistle
Apologeti-
cal sect. 1,
2, 3. from
p. 6. to p. 39.*

P. 6.

grave *Inquisitors* asked him, *whether he believed as the Church believed*; he answered *yes, and a great deal more*; at which they were not a little pleased, hoping to get from his own words enough to condemn him; and asking him, *what that was which he believed more than the Church believed*, he gravely told them, it was, *That their Worships Informers were a pack of Knaves*. So indeed I should think that I believed *more than their Church believed*, should I believe that they damn us out of meer charity, and write bitter *Invectives* for a demonstration of their Kindness. Alas! how hath the World been mistaken in them! Their cruelty, is meer pitty; their *Invectives*, Compassion; and their *Railing*, Charity.

P. 7. §. 2. But Mr. *Cressy* wants not great examples for this; for he brings in no meaner than *of Moses and the Prophets, St. John Baptist, Christ and his Apostles, and several Fathers of the Church for it*. It seems then, the practice of railing hath *Antiquity, Universality, and Consent* for it; which is much more than they can shew for many other of their practices; and which is the greatest wonder of all, they have *Scripture* too: and that, not one single passage,

passage, like *Hoc est corpus meum*; but *Moses* and *the Prophets*, *Christ* and his *Apostles*, nay, *S. John Baptist* too, do all bear witness to it. Any one would think, if *Mr. Cressy* say true, the Bible were the railingest Book in the World. What not *Moses* the meekest man upon earth forbear such bitter *Invectives*? not our *Blessed Saviour*, who when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he suffered he threatned not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously! not he, who hath threatned Hell-fire to him that uses contumelious expressions against his Brother! such as *Zani*, or *Scarron*, or the like. Not he, who bids his Disciples learn meekness from him, and was the most incomparable pattern of it, that ever appeared in humane nature! Not his *holy Apostles*! who charge all Christians to put away all bitterness and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking! And would they indeed, do that themselves, which they so severely forbid in others? Where is *Mr. Cressy's Charity* for them the mean while? While he produces these examples to justify his own bitterness, he makes the most bitter *Invective* not only against them, but even *Christianity* it self. But what will not men do, or say, to justify their violent passions? If he

1 Pet. 2. 23.

Mat. 5. 22.

11. 29.

Eph. 4. 31.

had stabbed me, he might as well have made *Phinehas* his precedent ; and if he had cursed me, have quoted some passages in the *Psalms* for it. If *Moses* was so angry that he brake the *Tables of the Law* ; doth Mr. *Cressy* think, it was at any that spake against the *Idolatry of the Golden Calf* ? no ; it was at those who committed it : and it is probable he might have been so, at those who would have struck the *second Commandment* out of those *Tables*, or eluded the force of it by vain and idle distinctions. The great anger of the *Prophets* was against those who drew the people to *Idolatry* : and Mr. *Cressy* is so pertinent in his proofs as to bring this to justify his rage against me, for writing against the *Idolatry of the Roman Church* : for so much he expresses in several places. Our Saviour and S. *John Baptist* do express great zeal against the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* : but let Mr. *Cressy* consider, they were a sort of sowre, ill-natured hypocrites, that would allow none a good word, nor so much as *hopes of salvation* that were not of their way ; that were full of malice, and envy, and all evil passions, and at the same time pretended highly to *mortification* and more *devotion* than others. I find nothing like *Invectives* in all the *writings* of the *holy Apostles* ; unless it

Exod. 32.

19.

P. 11, 12,
13, 15, 16.

it were against the *opposers*, or *corrupters* of *Christianity*; and when Mr. *Cressy* proves me to be *guilty* of either of those, I will lay my self open to the darts of the most Venomous Tongue among them. But instead of that I know no other cause in any Books I have written, that should expose me to the rage of these men, beside the zeal I have therein discover'd for the *honour* and *purity* of the Christian Religion, against the fopperies and corruptions of the *Roman Church*. And for such a *Cause* as this, I am prepared to suffer, whatever their fury and malice can raise up against me. This, this is the *Cause*, which I hope I should not be ashamed nor afraid to own and defend, although Mr. *Cressy's Power* were as great as his *Charity*. The *Church of England* I do from my heart honour and esteem, (notwithstanding all the base suggestions of Mr. *Cressy* to the contrary, even in this *Epistle Apologetical*) but I do therefore so much esteem it, because in it the Christian Religion is preserved free from the frantick heats of Enthusiasm and the dotages of Superstition. If they will undertake to convince me, that the things I condemn in the *Church of Rome*, were any parts of the Christian Religion delivered by *Christ* or his *Apostles*, I shall diligently weigh and

consider what ever they have to say; but if they only give hard words, and betray impotent passions; if they shuffle and shew tricks instead of reasoning; if all their *charity* towards me lyes only in *bitter invectives*, they will do but little good upon me, and I think not much to their own Cause.

P. 7. §. 3. But I am mistaken all this while, Mr. Cressy doth not write this *Apology* to give me satisfaction, but the *Person of Honour*, and the *genuine Learned Protestant Clergy of the English Church*; and if these, he saith, after impartial considering the motives and grounds of his *invectives* shall determine, that in his late, to him (alas!) unusual manner of treating with me he hath offended against *Christian Charity*, or purposely intended to fix any dishonourable brand on the *English Protestant Church or Discipline of it established by Law*, he will be ready without any reply to suffer whatsoever censure or punishment they shall think fit to inflict upon him. What! no offence against *Christian Charity* to charge me with deriding and blaspheming the *Saints in glory*; with having a hatred horribly poisonous against the *Catholick Church militant*; and that will not spare the *Church Triumphant*:

Mr. Cressy.
Ep. Dedicat.

P. 35.

phant: no offence at all, to call me *Theological Scarron*, and to say, *that I act the Theological Zani*; that all my Book except *twenty or thirty pages consists of Scurrilous Buffoonries*, petulant revilings of Gods Saints; and in effect by his *Epigram* out of *Martial* to charge me with downright *Atheism*; and twice in the same passage with *impiously and profanely employed wit*: none at all, to say, *That I had a heart brimful of the Gall of bitterness, that I writ with Ink full of Gall and poyson*; that I gave free scope to all *unchristian and even inhumane passions*! That my Book wholly composed of *malignant passions and new-invented Calumnies against Gods Church*, was only the private design of a malicious brain on purpose to feed the exulcerated minds of a malevolent party among us: that, all the weapons I make use of, pierce into the very bowels of the persons, fortunes and condition of English Catholicks, whose destruction I seem to design. What! none at all, to charge me so often with *prevaricating with the Church of England*, and designing to destroy her, under a pretence of defending her! These are some of the flowers of Mr. Cressy's *Charity* towards me, which I have picked out of some few pages of his Book; and he hath taken abundant

care

P. 52.

P. 12.

Postscript.
p. 181.

P. 2.

P. 3.

Epist. dedic.

Preface to
the Reader.

care to prevent any unlikeness in the parts of it. And doth Mr. *Cressy* in good earnest think, it is no breach of *Christian Charity* to charge me upon such pittiful grounds, with no less than carrying on blasphemous, Atheistical, treacherous and cruel designs? But if this be his *Christian charity*, what would the effects of his *malice* be? Let now any indifferent person judge, whether the *Person of Honour* had not reason to say, *That he never observed so many personal reflections and invectives, fuller of causeless passions, and of bitterness and virulence in so little room in any Book.*

P. 63.

But whatever the *Person of Honour* thinks, Mr. *Cressy* makes his appeal to the *genuine Learned Protestant English Clergy*. If he had been a *Clergy-man* who had done me that great *kindness*, then Mr. *Cressy* would have appealed to *Persons of Honour*; and surely such are the most competent Judges in cases of affronts and injuries: but herein lyes Mr. *Cressy's* art which runs throughout his *Epistle*, that he would fain separate me from the *Church of England*, and make *my cause* distinct from *hers*: I do not wonder, that they would part me from my company, and deprive me of my shelter, when they have such a mind to run me down.

down. But these arts are easily understood: and the design is too fine to hold, and too apparent not to be seen through. Mr. *Cressy* knows very well, the Use that was made at *Athens* of the *Fable* of the *Dogs* and the *Sheep*; and what good words and fair promises the *wolf* made to the *Sheep*; if they would but consent, that the *Dogs* might be given up to be destroyed. And no doubt the crafty *Wolf* would have made a very fine speech to the *Sheep*, to have perswaded them, that he had no manner of *ill will to them*; for he had known them long and loved them well, and alwayes looked upon them as a company of very innocent and harmless creatures; but for those *Dogs* that were set to watch them, he knew how different their principles were, and how destructive to them, if occasion served; and for all that he knew, these *Dogs* might have *Covenanted* together to worry them, upon a fair opportunity; and therefore for his part, he could not but wonder at their patience, that some of the stoutest *Rams* among them, did not set upon those pestilent *Currs*; or at least, he hoped, they would not be so regardless of their own safety, as not to suffer some well-wishers to the flock, to take them quietly and destroy them. For alas! at the best, they do but
make

make a noise, and disturb the repose of the Sheep ; and if they were gone, there would be nothing but unity and love left. I need make no application of this to Mr. *Cressy* ; and I am far from the vanity of supposing this capable of being applyed to my case, any farther than as I am one of those, who are at present engaged in the *Defence* of our *Church* against that of *Rome*. It is the happiness, and honour of our *Church of England*, that it hath in it at this day such store of persons both able and willing to defend her *Cause* (as, it may be, no *Church* in the World hath ever had together more persons of excellent abilities, great *Learning*, and unaffected *Piety*;) and I look on my self as one of the meanest of them : but it hath been my lot to be engaged more early and more frequently in this *Cause* than others ; which hath drawn so great a hatred of my *Adversaries* upon me ; but I thank God, I have a good Cause and the testimony of a good Conscience in the management of it, and so long I neither fear the waspishness of some, nor the rage of others.

§. 4. But this is their present design to represent me as one of different principles from the *Church of England*, and not only diffe-

different, but such as if well understood, are *destructive* to it, and therefore they very gravely advise our *Reverend Bishops* to have a care of me, if they hope to preserve the *Church of England*. And can we think it is any thing else but meer kindness and good will to our *Church*, that makes them so solicitous for its welfare?

It is a sad thing, saith Mr. Cressy, *that not one Protestant will open his eyes and give warning of the dangerous proceedings of their Champion?* Nay, it is no doubt, a very sad

Preface to
Famat.

thing to them to see that we do not fall out among our selves: I am sure it is no fault of theirs that we do not: for they make use of the most invidious and reproachful terms together concerning me, that if they cannot fasten on one passion they may upon another: but these poor designs have hitherto had but little success, and I hope will never meet with greater. And yet if no-

thing else will do, Mr. Cressy saith, *that it is a shame, that hitherto not one true Prelatical Protestant has appeared as a Defender of the English Church and State against me; but on the contrary even some English Prelates themselves have congratulated and boasted of my supposed successful endeavours against the Catholick Church, though ruinous only to themselves.* Alas,

ib.

good

good man ! his heart is even broke for grief, that our *Bishops* take no more care to preserve the *Church of England*. The *Church* he hath alwayes so entirely loved, and ventured as much for her as any body, while she was in prosperity, and there was no danger ; and only forsook her, when she was not able to reward his Love. The truth was, he gave her for gone at that time ; and then it was *the late Church of England* with him ; and no wonder when he thought her dead, that he made Court to a richer Mistress ; but it was but a swooning fit, she is come to her self again, and I hope like to hold out much longer than that which he hath chosen. And although Mr. *Cressy's* hands be now tyed, and he hath entred into new Vows ; yet he cannot, for his heart, forget the kindness he had to her in her flourishing condition, because she was then very kind to him ; he remembers the marks of her favour, and the rich presents she made him ; and therefore something of the old Love revives in him towards her, at least so far that he cannot endure to see her ill used ; when her *Guardians* neglect her, and her *Sons* prevaricate with her. If Mr. *Cressy's* faith had been as great as his *Charity*, to have made him believe that she would ever have come

to her self again, I cannot think he would have forsaken her so unhandsomely ; and left her in a *dying* Condition : but who could ever have thought that things would have come about so strangely ? But what if all this present shew of kindness prove meer collusion and prevarication in him ? What if it be only to divide her Friends, and thereby the more easily to expose her to the malice of her enemies ? For as long as the *Church of England* stands, she upbraids him, in his own words, *with malignant ingratitude* : and it is the plausiblest way for him that was once a Servant and a Lover, to compass her ruine with a pretence of Kindness.

§. 5. But wherein is it, that *I have prevaricated with the Church of England, whilst I have pretended to defend her* ? The first thing he instances in, is, *my charging the Church of Rome with Idolatry*. In very good time Mr. Cressy ! and, *is this prevaricating with the Church of England* ? when I have already, in two set Discourses, at large proved, that by all the means we can come to know the sense of a *Church*, this Charge hath been made good against her, from the beginning of the *Reformation* to 1641. and that even then the *Convocation*

Epistle Apostolical. p. 12.

Preface to Idolatry. Preface to the first part of the Answer.

cation declared the same in the *Canons* then made. But what must I do with such kind of Adversaries, that will never answer what I say for my self; but do run on still with the same Charge, as though they had nothing to do when they write, but to tell the same story over and over; Let Mr. *Cressy* do with his Readers as he pleases; for my part, I shall never follow him in that kind of impertinency: For there is not one word there used by him, which I had not particularly answered, before he writ it. The like I may say, of the second Charge, *viz.* that by the principles laid down by me, I destroy the Authority of the Church of England; which I have already shewed at large to be a very impertinent Cavil, and that I do maintain as much Authority in the Church of England, as ever the Church of England challenged to her self. And to that Discourse I refer Mr. *Cressy* for satisfaction; If he will not read it, I cannot help that; but I can help the not writing the same things over again: and so this other part of his *Epistle Apologetical* is wholly impertinent; unless he had taken off, what I had said for my self already in answer to the very same Objections. But all the reason in the World shall never satisfy Mr. *Cressy*, that I aim not at setting up

Epist. Apologet. from
n. 16, to
n. 24.

Answer, first
part from
p. 260. to
p. 291.

Epist. Apologet. from
n. 72. to
n. 84.

up a *Church* distinct from the *Church* of *England*? If it be any, I assure him, it is a very *invisible Church*; for it is a *Church*, without either *Head* or *Members*; I declare my self to be not only a *Member*, but an affectionate hearty friend to the *Church* of *England*; I perswade some to it; I endeavour, what in me lyes, to keep others from revolting from it. But where lyes *this Dr. Stillingfleet's Church*, which Mr. *Cressy* makes such a noise with? I know none but *that of the many thousands in England that have not bowed their knees to Baal*: and to prevent any farther suspicion of my meaning, I do declare I am for no other *Church*, than that *Church* of *England* which is established by *Law* among us. But it must be allowed to those who plead for *seeing Visions*, that sometimes they may *dream Dreams*.

Having therefore cut off so much impertinency, I shall reduce the matter yet to a narrower compass; by casting by the large account he gives of the several Books written by himself, in all which tedious Discourse, the wisest thing he saith is, *That Books relating to personal things are scarce ever so long-lived, as a yearly Almanack, and serve only to increase the uncharitableness and injustice of the present*

From n. 53.
to n. 72.

Age, in which men will be sure to censure all Books and Persons, and are indifferent whether they condemn the Plaintiff or Defendant or both. I shall not therefore feed so bad a humour by meddling with any personal Disputes; but come now, to the main things, which deserve any farther discussion, in the passages between the Person of Honour and Mr. Cressy.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Charge of Fanaticism and Mystical Divinity.

§. I.

ANd the *first thing* is about the Charge of *Fanaticism*, which gave the Title to that Book of Mr. Cressy's, upon which the Person of Honour bestows his *Animadversions*. This Mr. Cressy said he *would begin with, and particularly that part of my Book which concerns the life and prayer of Contemplation commended and practised only in the Catholick Church; it being a State, he saith, which from the Infancy of the Church hath been esteemed the nearest approaching to that of Glorified Saints: and this is that, from whence I took an occasion to vilifie him; but adds, that he is very well content to receive his proportion of scorn with such companions, as Thaulerus, Sufo, Rusbrochius, Blossius, &c. But to the end I may not boast, he saith, of the Novelty of my invention and profanely employed wit, he doth assure me, that he*

*Fanaticism
sect. 2. n. 10.*

C 2

heard

heard the same way much better acted a long time since, but the Actor was obliged to make a Recantation Sermon for it. I thank Mr. Cressy for more of his Charity still, in that he parallels the representing the *Fanaticism* of their Church with the histrionical representing the life of our Saviour and his *Attendants*: it seems, there is no great difference to be made between the Reverence due to the Founders of their *Monastick* Orders, and to the Son of God himself. I do assure him if I had no better opinion of our *Blessed Saviour* as to his *Wisdom* and all manner of *Excellencies*, than as yet I see ground to have of the *Founders* of their *Orders*, I should be far from that esteem I now have of the *Christian Religion*: but however, the *Person* of Honour hath better informed Mr. Cressy's memory, viz. "That the Recantation Sermon was made upon the account of *State-matters*; and therefore Mr. Cressy very wisely passeth it over in his *Epistle Apologetical*.

P. 23.

To this the *Person* of Honour adds, "That Mr. Cressy had no such reason to be enraged at me for this Charge, since the provocation was given me by my Adversary, by whom the beginning of so many *Sects & Fanaticisms* was laid to the charge
 " of

“ of the *Church of England* : which unseasonable and untrue reproach, made it necessary for me to answer and refell that calumny, and as reasonable to let them know that their own Church is much more lyable to that accusation than the other : and why this provocation should be so innocent an assault for the one, and the defence by the other should prove so heinous an offence, will require an impartial Judge to determine. To this Mr. Cressy thus answers ; *That my Adversary chanted unhappily though innocently to let drop out of his pen one line or two which has undone us all.* I know no design of *undoing* them that any of us have had ; unless it be as some men think they are *undone*, when they are kept from doing mischief : but I hope we may have leave to take care of our own preservation, and of that Religion we ought to value above our lives : but suppose it were so, whom may they thank for it ? him that gave the provocation, or him that did but his duty in Defence of his Church and Religion ? But come, come Mr. Cressy ; let us not flatter our selves, it is not the Fly upon the Wheel that raises the Dust ; we *writers of Controversies* are no great *Doers* or *Undoers* of publick business. But Mr. Cressy denies, *that my Adversary*

*An'mad-
vers. p. 26.*

Ep'st. Apologet. sect. 26.

§. 27.

sary did lay the imputation on the Church of England; and craves leave with all due respect to tell the Person of Honour, that it was a great mistake in him to say so. Of that we may judge by the very words produced by Mr. Cressy, viz. whether the judgement of King Henry, viz. in forbidding the Bible to be read in English, ought not to have been followed in after-times, let the dire effects of so many new Sects and Fanaticisms as have risen in England from the reading of the Scripture bear witness. In which words the rise of Sects and Fanaticisms is plainly imputed to the reading the Scripture, the reading of the Scripture in English is an effect of the Reformation of the Church of England (for it is the Church of England as reformed, that is only the subject of the dispute) And therefore I appeal to any indifferent person, whether the Reformed Church of England doth not in their Opinion bear the blame of all the Sects and Fanaticisms? But this is too plain a thing to be insisted upon: No, saith Mr. Cressy, the very naming of Fanaticism and England in the same line, was provocation enough for me; who seemed with an impatient longing to have watched for such an advantageous opportunity to empty my voluminous store of Collections. How strangely

§.

strangely may some be deceived by an overweening imagination ! I was so far from having a *Voluminous store of Collections*, that I never thought of the Subject, till it came in my way to answer it ; and then I remembered some things I had read to that purpose, which put me upon a farther search into the *history* of those things. And since Mr. *Cressy* will have it out, this is the true account of the birth of that terrible *Mormo* that hath brought so many reproaches and execrations upon me.

§. 2. There are two parts of this Charge of *Fanaticism*, which Mr. *Cressy* thinks himself particularly concerned in ; and which I shall therefore handle distinctly ; the one concerns *Mystical Divinity* ; and the other, the honour of S. *Benedict*, and his *Rule* and *Order* ; these two Mr. *Cressy* sets himself with all his force to defend, and I hope before I have done to make Mr. *Cressy* repent the heat, he hath shewed about them.

I begin with that concerning *Mystical Divinity* ; of which Mr. *Cressy* still speaks with the greatest Veneration imaginable ; he had before called it, *The practice of Christian Vertues and Piety in the greatest perfection this life is capable of ; the near-*

Fanaticism
P. I.

P. II.

P. 181.

Epist. A. 10-
legat. n. 37.

est approach to the state of glorified Saints; the most divine exercise of contemplative Souls, more perfectly practised only in Heaven: and now he makes a prayer for me, that it would please God to give me and all my friends a holy ambition to aspire to the practice of contemplative prayer, though by me so much despised. But of the good effects he saith it would have upon me, I do the most wonder at that which he adds, viz. that it would exceedingly better my style. I have hitherto thought the choice of clear and proper expressions, such as most easily and naturally convey my thoughts to the mind of another, to be one of the greatest excellencies of Style; but all before Mr. Cressy, that have been the greatest Friends to Mystical Divinity have endeavoured to excuse the hard words of it. Surely never any Masters of Style, before Mr. Cressy, thought obscure, strained, affected, unintelligible phrases, were any Graces and Ornaments of speaking: Would it not add much beauty to ones style, to bring in the state of Deiformity, the super-essential life, the union with God in the pure fund of the Spirit, and abundance of such phrases; which are so very many that Maximilian Sandæus the Jesuit, hath written a large Book only in explication of them: and

Maximil.
Sandæi
Clavis My-
stica c. 3.

and this is the account he gives of the *Mystical Style*; that it is *obscure, involved, lofty, abstracted, and flatulent, that it hath frequent hyperbole's, excesses, and improprieties*. And he tells us, *there were some, who (not unhappily) compared them to Paracelsian Chymists, who think to make amends for the meanness of their notions, by the obscurity of their terms*. *Carolus Hersentius* hath nothing to answer to this, but only, *that the matter cannot be plainer expressed in Mystical Divinity*; which is so far from being an argument to me that it can improve ones *style*, that it gives me very much ground to suspect the very thing it self. For God would never require from men the practice of that (as certainly he doth the duty of *Prayer* and the greatest *Love* of himself) which it is impossible for men to understand, when it is proposed to them. What obligation can there be to practise no man knows what? The *Christian Religion* is a very plain and intelligible thing; and if it had not been so, I do not know, how men could be obliged to believe it? I do not say, that men could form a distinct conception in their minds of the manner of some of those things which are revealed in it; as how an infinite being could be united to humane nature; but this

Carol. Hersent. Comment. in Dionys. de Myst. à Theolog. præfat.

this I say, that the terms are very intelligible, and the putting of those terms into a proposition, depends upon Divine Revelation, *viz.* that the Son of God was incarnate; so that all the difficulty in this case lyes in the conception of the manner, which by reason of the shortness of our conceptions, as to what relates to an infinite being, ought to be no prejudice to the giving our assent to this Revelation; since we acknowledge the union of a spiritual and material being in the frame of mankind, and are as well puzzled in the conception of the manner of it. But in *Mystical Divinity*, I say, the very terms are unintelligible; for it is impossible for any man to make sense of that *immediate Union with God in the pure fund of the Spirit*, wherein the Mystical Writers do place the *perfection* of the *Contemplative Life*.

§. 3. But because Mr. *Cressy* refers the *Person of Honour* for the understanding those *Mystical phrases*, which I had quarrelled with, to the *Author of the Roman Churches Devotions vindicated*, which was purposely writ in answer to me upon this subject; I shall therefore consider what light he gives us in this matter; for I am very willing to be better informed. In the beginning he saith,

faith, *that Prayer is the most Fundamental part of a Christians Duty* ; if this relates to the matter in hand, *viz. of contemplative prayer*, it must be implied, that this is a part at least of that *fundamental Duty*, and if it be so, I think my self obliged to understand it ; and it must be a very culpable ignorance, not to understand so *fundamental* a part of a *Christians Duty*.

Roman
Churches
Devotions
vindicated
Sect. 1.

Therefore I shall pass by all his excursions, and hold him close to the matter in debate ; I confess he prepares his way with some artifice, which makes me a little jealous, for things plain and easie need none.

He insinuates, 1. *That those who have not these things, cannot well know what they mean* ; and then adds, 2. *That the means*

Sect. 6.

for obtaining them, are (in his own words)

Sect. 7.

much frequent and continued vocal or mental prayer, much solitude and mortifications

of our flesh, and abstraction of our thoughts and affections from any creature : much

recollection, much meditation on selected subjects, and the endeavouring a quiescence

as much as we can from former discourse, (these actions of the brain and intellect

now hindring the heart and will) and the bringing our selves rather to a simple con-

templation (without any action of the brain or intellect, or at least as little as

may

may be) to exercise acts of love; adhere to, sigh after and entertain the object thereof: and after this, come passive unions, which are rather Gods acts in us than our own, and are particular Favours to some, and those not constant. By this explication, I am fallen into utter despair of understanding these things; for if the acts of the brain and intellect prove such hindrances to the desired union, and the quiescence in order to it be that of Discourse, viz. of all ratiocination; I am utterly at a loss, how this should ever be understood by the persons themselves, and much more how it should be explained to others: And I extreamly wonder at those, who go about to explain things which themselves confess are so far from being understood, that the acts of the understanding are hindrances to the enjoyment of them. But F. Baker speaks more plainly in this matter, when he describes this *Mystick contemplation*; by which, saith he, a soul without discoursings and curious speculations, without any perceptible use of the internal senses, or sensible Images, by a pure, simple, and reposeful operation of the mind, in the obscurity of faith simply regards God as Infinite and Incomprehensible Verity: and with the whole bent of the will rests in him, as her Infinite,

Sacra Sophia tr. 3.
sect. 4. c. 1.
n. 5.

finite, Universal and Incomprehensible Good. This is true Contemplation indeed. And afterwards he adds, that as for the proper exercise of active contemplation, it consists not at all in speculation, but in blind elevations of the will, and ingulging it more and more profoundly in God, with no other sight or knowledge of him, but of an obscure Faith only. And towards the conclusion of his Book he hath these words, *We mortifie our passions to the end we may loose them: we exercise Discursive prayer by sensible Images, to the end we may loose all use of Images and Discourse: and we actuate immediately by operations of the will, to the end we may arrive to a state of stability in prayer above all direct exercises of any of the souls faculties: A state wherein the soul being oft brought to the utmost of her workings, is forced to cease all workings to the end that God may operate in her. So that till the soul be reduced to a perfect denudation of Spirit, a deprivation of all things, God doth not enjoy a secure and perfect possession of it. Nay, he saith elsewhere, that all use of meditation must be for a long space passed and relinquished, before the soul will be brought to this good state of having a continual flux of holy desires.* I might produce much more to the

N. 16.

C 6. 7. 11.

SECT. I. C. 4.
N. 14.

the same purpose out of him ; but this is enough to shew, that they leave no use of *ratiocination* or *memory*, in that which they call the *perfect state of the Contemplative life* ; and how is it then possible, that it should be either understood or explained ? Nay, *F. Baker* saith, *that there is a cessation of all workings of the soul*, which is a little harder yet : But this is that *otium mysticum*, or *divine state of quiescency* which the *Mystical Divines* magnifie so much ; and which it is impossible to give any account of ; either how the soul being of so active a nature can subsist with a cessation of all her workings ; or supposing that possible, how it can ever give an account of that state wherein there was a cessation of all her workings. It is altogether as possible to give an account of the state of *Not-being*, as of such a state, wherein there were no operations of the soul ; or at least no use of *ratiocination* and *memory*. And of all things, methinks it is most improper to call that the *State of Contemplation* ; the *State of Nothingness*, is much more agreeable to it. But *O. N.* defends this to be a *State of Contemplation* ; for although, saith he, *it be applyed to the will*, yet its act is not single, but accompanied with a simple intelligence or sight

sight of the object performed by the Intellect without any, or at least much Discourse thereof; but this is not fair dealing, for F. Baker expressly excludes all Discourse, he saith *not any, or at least not much*; but if there be any, Baker makes it not the state of pure contemplation; however doth O. N. think that which he calls *simple intelligence*, or the understanding things without *ratiocination*, is a thing we are capable of, during the conjunction of Soul and Body? But O. N. acknowledges, *That these supernatural communications of the Divine Majesty to some of his choicest servants in prayer are so sublime and high, as that they are described by them not without great difficulty, and unusual expressions, which are not so well understood but by such as have experienced such favours which also happen to very few.* Why then do they undertake to explain them? Why do they write of them, and publish them to the World?

Sect. 8.

But commend me to Mr. Cressy himself, who gives me a very plain reason why I do not understand these things; viz. in the words of S. Paul, that, *The sensual man neither does nor can possibly understand them, because they are spiritually discerned, and therefore no wonder if they be esteemed foolishness*

Epiſt. Apoſt.
log. n. 37.1 Cor. 2.
14.

foolishness by him who has never experienced them. What, yet more of your *Charity* Mr. Cressy ? I pretend to no *Mystical Unions* ; and should think it no *perfection*, much less a state of *pure contemplation*, to have all operations of my mind *suspended* ; but what then ? must I be a *sensual man* for this, and *uncapable of understanding the things of the Spirit of God* ? This answer, I should have expected from a *Quaker* ; and it is the common place they run to, when any tell them, that they talk *Non-sense*, or *unintelligible Canting* ; and I dare say, they speak nothing more *unintelligible* than this *Mystical Divinity* ; I might have expected this Answer from a follower of *Jacob Behmen* , who talks very sublime things too in his way ; and very much like *Mystical Divinity*. I might have expected it from a *Rosycrucian* ; for I find, that he who writ the *Epistle Apologetical* for the *Brethren* of that *Order* , produces the very same places of *Scripture* to justify them, that *O.N.* and Mr. Cressy do for *Mystical Divinity* ; and saith, *that theirs was a gift of perfection, which God did not communicate to all, but only to his elect ; and therefore no wonder if others did not understand it.* But what if Mr. Cressy doth not after all this understand *S. Paul* ? and

Tract. Apologet. integ. Societ. de Roseâ Cruce defendens.
A. 1617.
P. 17.

it is most evident he doth not. For *S. Paul* doth not there speak of any that had embraced the *Christian Doctrine*, and rejected any sublime pretence of devotion, as a thing not *intelligible* or *consonant* to the *Christian Religion* (which are the reasons of my rejecting *Mystical Divinity*) but he speaks of such, who rejected the Doctrine of Christianity it self, because it depended upon Divine Revelation. And so the *ψυχὸς ἀνὴρ* is not the *sensual man*, as Mr. *Cressy* out of meer *charity* to me renders it; but the man that supposes such a *natural sufficiency* in the *humane soul* in order to its own perfection and happiness, (as the *Philosophers* did) that there was no necessity either of *divine revelation* to discover any new doctrine, or of *divine Grace* to conduct us to our happiness. This I could easily make appear to be *S. Pauls* meaning, from the consideration of the design of his discourse, as well as the importance of the words, and the consent of the best *Interpreters* of *S. Paul*; I mean *S. Chrysostome*, and his Disciples, viz. *Isidore Pelusiôt*, and the *Greek Scholiasts*; but I forbear, for fear Mr. *Cressy* should think, I take another opportunity to *empty my voluminous store of Collections*. But notwithstanding all the endeavours of Mr. *Cressy* and his Friend *N.O.*

to make the *State of Contemplation* as described by *F. Baker*, more *intelligible*, it hath yet so much of *darkness* and *shadow* in it, that the more they pursue it, the farther it flies from them.

§. 4. But that is not all the quarrel I have to this *Mystical Divinity*, that it is *unintelligible*; but that it leads persons into strange illusions of fancy, and when they think themselves freest from *Images*, they do then labour most under the power of a *strong imagination*, embracing only the *Clouds* of their own *Fancies* instead of such an *immediate Union with the Divine Essence in the pure fund of the Spirit*. And this I take to be a great injury, not only to those melancholy *souls*, that are led through this Valley of Shades and Darkness; but to the Christian Religion it self, as though the way of perfection taught by it were a low, mean, contemptible thing in comparison of the *Mystical flights* of this *Contemplative way*. There are these two things therefore I shall endeavour to shew, 1. That this Mystical way hath no foundation at all in the Christian Doctrine, 2. The way and manner, how it came into the Christian Church, and hath obtained so much favour in it.

1. That

1. That it hath no Foundation at all in the Christian Doctrine. It is the great excellency of the Christian Religion, that it gives us such incomparable directions in order to the compleat Felicity of our immortal souls. That it hath not only discovered more plainly, and fully, the *blest* state of another life; but teaches men the most effectual way to prepare their minds for it; *viz.* by sincere repentance, by inward purity, by subduing our passions, and due government of our actions according to the Rules of temperance and justice, by dependence on Divine Providence as to the affairs of this world; by patience under afflictions; by doing good to others, although our enemies and persecutors; by deep humility and mean thoughts of our selves; by a large charity, thinking as well of, as doing well to others; by valuing the concerns of another life, above the advantages of this, (which is called *self-denial*;) and to that degree, that when our *Religion* calls for it, we should willingly part with our lives for the sake of it. This, as far as I can understand it, is the summary comprehension of a *Christians Duty*, in order to his happiness; and by *patient continuance in well-doing* he may with reason hope for the enjoyment of that

Blessed State which is reserved to another life. The which being made known to the world by the Doctrine of Christ, therefore *Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ* is made so necessary a part of a Christians Duty ; and because we want divine supplies, and assistance , to enable us to do our duty, therefore we are so much commanded to be frequent and fervent in prayer ; and many promises and encouragements are given to the due performance of it, from Gods readiness to hear the prayers of the *Righteous*, and to grant the requests they make to him. All this, is not only excellent in it self, and most reasonable to be done, but very easie to understand ; but not a word in all this tending to any immediate *Union* with God in the *pure fund of the Spirit*, or such a *State of Contemplation* wherein the operations of the soul are suspended ; nothing of *passive unions* and *visions* and *raptures*, as such things which every Christian who looks for perfection, may hope for. It is true, we are often commanded to *love God with all our hearts* ; but withal we are told, we must not fancy this love to be a meer languishing passion towards an infinite object (which we therefore love, because we do not understand ; but see him only in *profound darkness*, and
close

clasp about him with the closest embraces, being united to him in the most immediate manner : and being melted in the fruition of him. Which are luscious *Metaphors* brought into the *Christian Doctrine* from that antient *Family of Love*, I mean the *School of Plato* ; as I shall shew afterwards.) But the *love of Christians* towards *God* is no fond amorous passion ; but a due apprehension and esteem of the divine excellencies ; a hearty sense of all his Kindness to us ; and a constant readiness of mind to do his Will ; for *this is the Love of God to keep his Commandments. And if any man say I love God and hateth his Brother, he is a lyar ; for he that loveth not his Brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen ? No man hath seen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us.* Thus the beloved Disciple who understood the greatest mysteries of *Divine Love* hath expressed them to us : and thus the beloved Son of God hath declared what he means by the *Love* he expects from his Disciples , *If ye love me keep my commandments. And ye are my Friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.* Here is nothing of an abstracted life, or internal and external solitude, or self-annihila-

*V. Joh. à
Jesu Maria
Theolog.
Mystic. c. 6.
p. 64.*

I John 5.3.

4. 20.

12.

Joh. 14. 15.

15. 14.

tion in order to an immediate active union with God in the supream point of the Spirit ; nothing of *blind elevations of the will*, without the use of Reason and Discourse, *ingulfing it more and more profoundly in God*; all these *Mystical Notions* and expressions had another spring and more impure Fountain than the *Christian Doctrine*.

§. 5. Not so ; say *O. N.* and Mr. *Cressy*, for if they may be believed there is ground in Scripture for all the most lofty *mystical* expressions. If so, I must retract what I have said ; but I never knew any men that needed more an infallible Interpreter of Scripture than they do ; they make such lamentable expositions of it ; if they can but hit upon a word or a phrase to their purpose, away they run with that, and never consider the design or importance of it. What work doth *O. N.* make with his *Cor altum*, and *Regnum Dei intra vos* ? whereas the first signifies nothing, but due consideration, nor the other any thing, but that the Kingdom of the *Messias* was then come among them. And what are these to *Mystical Divinity* ? And Mr. *Cressy's accedite ad Deum & illuminamini*, is altogether to as much purpose ; for is there no instruction to

O. N. Roman Devotions
vindicated,
sect. 7.--
sect. 51.

Fanaticism,
p. 49.

to be had from God, or his Law, short of *passive unions*? no enlightning our minds, but by immediate inspirations? But Mr. Cressy thinks he hath done the business and quite stopped my mouth with S. Paul's ἀπὸ πνεύματος; *who being in a wonderful Extasie, saw and heard God only knows what: which although he was willing to communicate, yet he had not the power to do it.* But as the Person of Honour hath already very well told Mr. Cressy, “What “is this to those who go about to express “what neither themselves nor any else “can understand? If they pretend to the “same extasies, why do they not imitate “his Modesty? Why do they go about to “help S. Paul to words to do it by, if him- “self declared it could not be done by “words? To which Mr. Cressy answers as much as was to be answered, which is, just nothing. But his Author Q. N. brings the same place; and not only that, but all those which mention the *Revelations of the Prophets or Apostles.* To what purpose? Do I deny any *Divine Revelations*? Do I give the least intimation that I questioned, whether there were any *true inspirations* in the *writers of Holy Scriptures*? God forbid! But how doth it follow, if God did inspire men to declare his Will to man-

P. 41.

Animadu.
p. 58.Roman De-
votions
vindicated
(see 9, 10,
11.)

kind ; therefore all the pretences to *Revelations* and *Inspirations* in the *Roman Church* are true? If *S. Paul* had once a true *Rapture* ; therefore all *S. Teresa's* were such ; and not the effects of a vehement *Imagination*. Let us observe the difference ; not only in the value and excellency and judgement of the Persons ; but in the very manner of relating them. Her life written by her self (to which *O. N.* appeals in this matter, as the great instance of the strictness and caution of the *Roman Church* in examining and approving *Visions* and *Revelations*) consists almost wholly of a very plentiful narration of her *Raptures* and *Visions*. She began, she saith, to be awakened about six or seven years old, her Mother having made her to say her prayers and be devout to our blessed Lady and some other Saints ; wherein she very much outwent *S. Paul*, who never so much as once mentions her in all his writings. After this, she relates her very great sickness, so great that she saith, it alwayes deprived her almost of her senses, and sometimes altogether : and after she had read the third *A, B, C* (a Book of *Mystical Divinity*) she saith, she came to quiet prayer, and arrived to passive unions before she was twenty years old ; and herein again she far out-

went

Roman Devotions
vind. cated
sect. 16.

S. Teresa's
Life, p. 2.
c. 1. Edit.
1611. at
Antwerp.

c. 4. p. 18.

P. 17.

went S. Paul. She confesses, that she was in so great torment, that they were afraid who were about her, that she would have gone mad; that she was put into such a heat that her sinews began to shrink with such intolerable pains that she could take no rest neither day nor night, but was continually oppressed with a most profound Melancholy. These are the very words written by her self as they are translated out of Spanish by an English Jesuit; after this she saith, she fell into a trance; so that she remained without sense almost four dayes, after which she remained under violent Torments, and her head exceedingly distempered; and was not perfectly recovered in three years. Then she took S. Joseph for her Patron; whom she called her Father and Protector; and whereas other Saints help us in some one necessity, she had experience that this Saint helpeth us in all; and that our Lord will give us to understand, that as he was subject to him on earth, so likewise in Heaven he obtaineth whatsoever he asketh. (I am very much mistaken if this favour not of other kind of Divinity than ever S. Paul preached) And she adds, that she had a great zeal to perswade others to be devout to this glorious Saint: because he helpeth those souls exceedingly which commend

C. 5. p. 25.

P. 26.

C. 6. p. 28.

P. 32.

P. 33.

- mend themselves to him ; especially those that desire a Master to teach them how to pray ; (I suppose she means this contemplative way). After such an account given of her self, I do not at all wonder at the frequency of her Visions and Raptures ; in*
- P. 38. *one, she saith, she saw Christ more plainly with the eyes of her soul, than she could have seen him with the eyes of her body ; and she looked upon it as a temptation of the Devil, that she was ready to think, this was nothing but Imagination. Af-*
- C. 10, 11,
12, &c. *ter this, she relates at large how she came to be swallowed up in the depths of Mystical Theologie ; and talks of Gods suspending the operations of the understanding ; in*
- P. 80. *which, she saith, it understandeth more in the space of a Creed without discoursing, than we can understand with all our earthly diligences in many years : This she calls, being wholly ingulfed in God ; and distin-*
- P. 62. *guisheth this State, wherein the soul seems to be altogether out of her self, from Visions ; and she describes the third degree of Prayer to be a glorious frenzy, an heavenly folly ; in which, she saith, she had been*
- P. 111. *as it were frantick and drunken in this love, and could never understand how it was ; and in this State, she saith, they speak many words in Gods praise without order,*
at

at least the understanding is nothing worth here ; for she adds , that then she speaketh P. 113.
a thousand follies , and she knew one who , being no Poet , chanced to compose very significant Verses extempore , declaring his pain very well , not made by his own wit . But there is a degree beyond this , which she calls , the State of not feeling , but enjoying without understanding what we enjoy ; but how this Union is , and what it is , she cannot give it to be understood , but leaves it to the Mystical Theology . Afterwards she distinguisheth between Union and Raptures : and saith , that these exceed Union , which he that writes the Glosses in the Margin saith , that she means that the soul enjoyeth God more in raptures ; but she tells us , that Union seemeth beginning , midst and end ; but our Lord must declare this , i. e. she knew not what she meant her self . In some of her raptures she speaks of Gods carrying away her soul , and almost ordinarily her head also after her , so that she could not detain it , and sometimes her whole body lifting it up : in these she saith , she undergoes great violence , and she was quite tyred with them : at other times she saith , her body was so light in raptures , that all the heaviness of it was taken away ; or rather , that the body remaineth
as

- as it were dead, without doing any thing, in which sometimes the senses are wholly lost; but ordinarily they are troubled: and in the height of raptures, she saith, they*
- P. 149. *neither hear, nor see, nor feel in her opinion; no power hath the use of it self, nor knoweth what passeth in this occasion; nor are we capable of understanding it. In this state, she saith, the soul is ingulfed; or to say better, our Lord is ingulfed in her, and keeping her in himself for a little space, she remaineth with her will alone;*
- P. 150. *and sets forth the body as bound for many hours in it, and yet sometime the understanding and memory distracted; and after they return to themselves. When the rapture is over, it happeneth sometimes that our powers are so absorpt and as it were drowned for a day or two or three, that it seemeth they are not in themselves. There are these circumstances more to be observ-*
- P. 42. *ed concerning her: 1. That she was under great bodily weakness all this while.*
- P. 185. *2. That at this time when she had so many of these raptures, she confelles her self, that she was very backward and in the beginnings of vertues and mortifications.*
- P. 66. & *3. That her great friends who had examined and considered her case, declared to*
 176. p. 236. *her, that they looked upon all these things as*
 P. 181. *de-*

delusions of the Devil ; upon which she ap- P. 194. p.
plied her self to the Jesuits, who encoura- 180.
ged her very much, and told her, it was P. 182.
the Spirit of God ; and henceforward they P. 181.
were the great men who gave her directi- P. 184.
ons, not to resist those impulsions and ele-
vations, as she had been advised before ;
and put her upon greater perfection ; then
she fell into her raptures, and understood
in one of them, that hence forward she P. 185.
was not to converse with men, but Angels :
and after this, she had such kind of voices
very frequent within her, which she saith, P. 187.
are very formal words, but not heard with
corporal ears, but understood much more
plainly, than if they were heard ; and these
speeches, she saith afterwards, were very P. 204.
continual with her ; and she had visions ve-
ry frequently ; in one of which she saw P. 215.
only the hands of Christ, and in another
his divine Countenance, which seemed whol-
ly to abstract her, and afterwards she saw P. 216.
him altogether, but not with her corporal
eyes, she confesses : and she satisfied her
self, it could not be her imagination only, P. 221.
although her Confessor told her so, because
the beauty was so great, as to exceed her
imagination ; yet he still encouraged her, P. 224.
when as appears by her own confession,
others about her whom she had a great opi-
nion

- nion of, endeavoured to convince her it was only her imagination, *to her great trouble*; infomuch, that she saith, *the contradiction of the good were sufficient to have put her out of her wits.* This *Vision* of the Beauty of Christ continued ordinarily with her for two years and an half, in which she had a great desire to see the colour of his eyes, and what bigness they were of, but never could obtain that favour. When the Jesuit-Confessor was out of the way,
- P. 225.
- P. 226. others told her plainly, *it was the Devil that deluded her*; and they bid her cross her self when she saw a *Vision*; she held a Cross in her hand to save her self the trouble, and
- P. 228.
- P. 234. Christ took it in his and gave it her again with four Precious Stones which had the five wounds artificially engraven upon them, which no body could see but her self. After this, she had a vision of Angels, and
- P. 229.
- P. 232. clearly discerned the *cælestial Hierarchy*; but she supposed one of those she saw to be one of the Seraphins, who pierced her heart with a fiery dart, and when he pulled it out again, it left her wholly inflamed with great love to God; but under excessive pain, which yet caused so great pleasure, that she could not desire to have it removed: in the dayes that this continued, she saith, she
- P. 233. was like a Fool, she desired neither to see
nor

nor speak, but to embrace her pain. Not
 long after she relates, how sometimes for
 three weeks together her imagination would
 be so tormented with trifles and toys, that P. 238.
 she could think of nothing else: then she
 fell into such a fit of dulness and heaviness
 without any kind of sense or remembrance P. 240.
 of her former Visions and Raptures; or else
 no otherwise than as of a dream to afflict,
 and then she was full of doubts and suspi-
 cions, that all was but imagination; and P. 237.
 if she conversed with any, the Devil put her
 in such a distasteful spirit of anger, that it
 seemed as if she would eat all, not being P. 240.
 able to do otherwise. Then again, she had
 comfort in an instant, sometimes with a P. 241.
 word, sometimes with Visions; which con-
 tinued for a time more frequent than before;
 then she thought, that her bodily sickness P. 242.
 was the cause of her former disturbance,
 and that her understanding was so unruly,
 that it seemed like a furious fool, whom no
 body could bind, neither was she able to
 keep it quiet for the space of a Creed: At
 other times again she compares her self to P. 244.
 an Ass, being in a manner without any feel-
 ing; and so it falleth out oft-times, she
 saith, that one while she laughed at her self, P. 245.
 and other times she was much afflicted; and
 the inward motion provoked her to put
 poses

- posies and flowers upon Images*, and such kind of imployments. After this, the scene of her imagination was quite changed, for
- P. 246. *it represented nothing but Devils to her* : in which state, she tryed one pleasant experiment, *viz.* how much more the Devils are afraid of *Holy water*, than of the *Sign of the Cross* ; *from the Cross they fly, but so as to return presently, but from the Holy Water, so as to return no more,* (*Me-thinks then she should have used it but once*) *and it was not more terrible to Devils, than she found it comfortable to her soul* ; for she saith, *that she found a particular and very evident comfort when she took it, and such a delight which strengthened her whole soul : which she found very often, and considered it with great reflection* : then she relates, *her being in spirit in*
- P. 261. *Hell, and what she endured there* ; and towards the conclusion, *her being placed in*
- P. 323. *Heaven in a rapture* ; and seeing what was done there ; where she saw her Father and Mother, &c. after which she adds, *that our Lord shewed her greater secrets* (*What ! than what is done in Heaven?*) *for it is*
- P. 324. *not possible, she saith, to see more than was represented unto her ; the least part of it was sufficient to make her soul remain astonished ; and found it impossible to declare*
some

some little part of it. And now we find her at *S. Pauls* height, and need go no farther in the account of her *Visions*, which continues to the end of her Book; but let me ask *O. N.* who hath particularly recommended *this life* to the consideration of any *soker Protestant*, whether he doth in good earnest think that *M. Teresa* had the same kind of *Raptures* that *S. Paul* had? I know he must not say otherwise, since the *Roman Church* hath *Canonized* her for a *Saint*; but I think, they had done her a greater kindness, to have appointed her good *Physicians* in time, instead of her *Jesuitical Confessors*. I could hardly have thought, that among *Christians* I should have found *S. Pauls Rapture* parallel'd by such as these; but we have lived to see strange things. If *S. Paul* had discovered in his Writings so many Symptoms of a disturbed fancy, such an oppression of *Melancholy*, such roving of *Imagination*, such an uncertainty of temper; could we ever think the world would have believed that *Ecstasie*, which he expresseth with so much Modesty, and makes so many *Apologies* for himself, that he was forced to mention it; by the false *Apostles* boasting of their Revelations? *It is not expedient for me doubtless to glory; I will come to Visions and Revelations of the*

Roman Churches Devotions vindicated
p. 23.

² Cor. 12.
1, 2, 5, 6;

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Lord.

Lord. *I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, &c. Of such a one will I glory, yet of my self I will not glory, but in mine infirmities; ——— but now I forbear lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me. Although he had many Revelations, he mentions but one; and that with the greatest modesty that may be under a third person, and that above fourteen years ago. He tells no long stories of a succession of Visions and Raptures, and sights of Angels and Devils; mixed with many impertinencies and indications of a disordered Imagination. But saith O. N. that could not be in S. Teresa, considering the diligence that was used for several years in the tryal of her Spirit, and her Visions were confirmed to be from God, by a general attestation of them throughout the Christian world; even those who suspected and questioned them at first afterwards magnifying them. But I desire no other evidence in this case, than what she gives her self; supposing the matters of fact to be true according to her own relation; not that I would condemn her, according to Mr. Cressy's soft language, as a hypocritical Visionaire; nor as many of her Friends did, as one deluded by the Devil;*

vil ; but I see nothing in her case but what might be a natural effect of an overheated Imagination, in a Person of a very melancholy devout temper, especially being before-hand possessed with the *Notions of Mystical Divinity*. And for the *approbations* given to her *Visions* I do not wonder at them, since there was a Design to *Canonize* her for a *Saint*, and she was the *Foundress* of a *new Order*; and that there was something relating to this, in the penning of her *Visions*, seems to be not obscurely intimated in the last *Page* of her *Book*, where she desires him to whom she writ it, *to make haste to serve his Majesty, that he might do her a Favour*; for it seems by her own relation, her Order met with great contradiction at *Court*. P. 364.

And for the *approbation* of her *Books*, I do no more wonder at that; than I do at others that proceed upon the same principles, *viz.* of *Mystical Theologie*. But I do exceedingly admire at those persons, who dare to bring the single *instance* of *S. Pauls Rapture*, to justify all the pretences to *Visions* and *Raptures*, of the Melancholy and distempered *women* of their *Church*. If we had not so great reason to put such a mighty difference between them, as to the Wisdom of the Persons, the reasonable-

ness of their Doctrine, the Miracles wrought to confirm the testimony of the *Apostles*; it would be, as *Cardinal Bessarion* said of the *Canonizations of new Saints*, that it made *men Question the old*; so these new *Raptures* and *Visions* would expose the credit and Authority of undoubtedly *Divine Revelations*. Therefore let Mr. *Cressy* and O. N. have a care, while they are so ready to charge me with *blaspheming Gods Saints*, that by making the case so parallel between the *Prophets* and *Apostles* and their *new Saints*, they do not lay in the way of all considering men of their Church, one of the greatest temptations to *Infidelity*.

O. N. *ſet.*
13.

§. 6. But O. N. hath not yet done: for he brings all those phrases of Scripture, that relate to the sanctification of mens souls by divine Grace, and the comfort of Gods Spirit, and the extraordinary Revelations which came by the pouring out of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles and their Disciples, to justify the expressions of *Mystical Divinity*; which are all extreamly impertinent, unless he can prove from any of them such an Union with the Divine Essence, as excludes the use of *ratiocination in the soul*; wherein the perfection of

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Contemplative prayer is placed, and all the other phrases are to be understood with a respect to this. And what though there be two Spirits working within us, and there be degrees of spiritual persons, and the Spirit assists the souls of men with good motions which ought not to be resisted; and what if some have a greater measure of this Assistance than others; what if excellent minds may attain to an assurance that they are under the conduct of the Divine Spirit, and may have great comfort and satisfaction therein; nay, what if I should grant, that a State of Perfection were attainable in this life; yet all this were nothing to his purpose; unless he can prove, that the supposing the perfection of a Christian to be consistent with laying aside the Use of all ratiocination, as it is in the Mystical Union, doth not expose men to the greatest Enthusiasm, and most Fanatick Delusions imaginable. I mean that state, which himself expresses, by those supernatural elevations wherein are communicated to the soul many times Celestial Secrets, and Divine Mysteries, and future events by internal words and Revelation; all which things are received by it with a great tranquillity and attention, and cessation of the natural use of its Faculties Sensitive or Intellectual:

O. N. sect.

19, 20, 21,

22, 23.

O. N. sect.

29.

tellektual: nor seems it in its own disposal while it hath these touches. And this is that, he tells us, which the Mystick Divines express by the terms of a supernatural, or rather superessential life, a Deiformity, or Deification; of a sense or fruition of Gods presence in the fund, depth, or center, or innermost part of the soul, or also in the Apex or Supreme point of it; of Passive Unions, wherein is to be understood not an exclusion of all acts whatsoever, but an exclusion of any discursive and laborious acts, and any primary moving of it self to action. This explication I accept of; and undertake to make it appear, that in it is contained the greatest height of Fanaticism. For what can be imagined greater, than to exempt all pretenders to Enthusiasm and Divine Inspiration from any tryal by humane reason? For if no persons are competent Judges of these supernatural elevations, but those which have experience of them; as they assert; if by virtue of these elevations men come to the knowledge of Divine Mysteries and Future Events by internal words and Revelation; what is to be done with any Person who pretends to these elevations? Must their Confessors judge of them? But why? for either they have not experienced these things, and then they

they are no *competent Judges* ; or they have, and then they are pretenders to the same things, and ought as much to be judged by others : but how ? by the *acts of reason*, and the *rules* of it ? how is that possible, when they are supposed to be above all *acts of Reason and Discourse* ? and to do it *without reason*, will be as little honour to the *Judges*, as it will be Vindication to the pretenders. But *the Church is to be Judge* : Why so ? since the *Spirit* can no more deceive one than a thousand ; and they have satisfaction in themselves, that it is *the Spirit of God* in them, as much as it is possible for any to have that the *Spirit of God directs the Church* ; nay, much greater, for the other is only the certainty of *reason and discourse* ; but this is an inward *Certainty of Experience*, above all *ratiocination*. But how again shall the *Church* judge of this ? If the *Church* pretend to the same thing, she is lyable to the same accusation ; if she does not, she can have no pretence to judge of things that are to be known only by *experience*. So that if men speak consequently and agreeably to themselves, there is no way of trial left for pretenders to these things. And what should hinder every *Enthusiast* from this pretence, or something very like it ;

viz. Divine Inspiration? Why should the pretence to the *Spirit* be more lyable to the tryal of other mens *reason* or *Authority*, than the pretence to *Mystical Unions*? Cannot they make use of the very same places of *Scripture* to justify all the *Fanatick pretences* to *immediate impulses* and *motions* of the *Divine Spirit*? Cannot they tell men as easily; that they that are *unexperienced* are *no Judges* in this case; and that the *sensual man* cannot understand the things of the *Spirit of God*? Nay, these have been the very pleas of all our *Enthusiasts*, and there is scarce one place of *Scripture* mentioned by *O. N.* which they have not been before-hand with him, in producing to the very same purpose. I cannot then find out the difference, between the highest of our *Enthusiasts* and *theirs*; and the very same pleas which serve for the one, will justify the other also. What have they ever pretended to, but to understand *celestial secrets*, *divine mysteries*, or *future events* by *immediate Revelation*? Now all these things are owned, defended and justified by the *Roman Church*, and yet they not lyable to the charge of *Fanaticism*?

§. 7. No, saith O. N. *Enthusiasm* or *Fanaticism* doth not lye in speaking things hard to be understood, nor yet the pretending high and mysterious effects, *Visions*, *Revelations*, &c. for all these we believe may be and are often wrought in Gods Saints by the Holy Spirit, and his special presence in their souls, and that we say in a much higher and more admirable way, than any of Satans infatuations can imitate or ascend to; but *Fanaticism* is a false pretence of these, or the like, when having no just ground to be credited, they pretend to them. So that the main point is yielded up to the *Fanaticks*, viz. *Visions* and immediate *Revelations*, and unaccountable *Impulses* from the Spirit of God; all the dispute is, whether the *Popish Enthusiasts* or those among us are only pretenders? If O. N. were to convince a *Quaker* who pretends to such an immediate impulse of the Spirit, this must be his method of proceeding with him.

Friend, I perceive thou talkest much of the Spirit of God moving thee and revealing the hidden mysteries of his Kingdom to thee, but thy pretence is vain, and thou art deceived by thy own fancy, if not by an evil Spirit.

No,

O. N. sect.
13. p. 20.

No, saith the Quaker, I know, I am not, for I have the testimony of the Spirit within me that I am not deceived ; but thou art deceived and lyeſt againſt the Holy Ghoſt , and blaſphem'eſt the Spirit of God working in his Saints.

Not I, ſaith O. N. I grant that the Holy Ghoſt doth work in his Saints ſuch ſupernatural elevations, whereby they underſtand divine Myſteries, and have Viſions and Raptures and Revelations more than any of you ; but all ours are true , and yours are falſe.

Thou lying Prophet, replies the Quaker, Gods ſpeaks truth by thee, as he did once by Balaams Aſs and Caiaphas ; but thou through the wickedneſs of thy heart doſt condemn the Generation of his Saints among us as hypocrites ; and wouldſt have the Spirit of God dwell only among you, that are the Sons of Myſtical Babylon and partake of all her defilements, that are the ſeed of the Beaſt and the falſe Prophet, that commit adultery with Images, and ſet up the Man of Sin in his Throne, that have covered the face of the earth with your abominations, and ſtill go about to deceive the Nations. You have the Spirit of God among you ! You pretend to the ſeeing hidden Myſteries, and immediate

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Revelations and Mystical Unions with God ! No, yours are the Mysteries of Iniquity, the Revelations of Antichrist, and unions only with Mystical Babylon. You have the Spirit of God among you ! No, yours is the Spirit of Enchantment and Divination, the Spirit of lying and deceit, the Spirit of Antichrist and not of God.

I say again, saith O. N. that we have the Spirit, and you have not.

And I say by the Spirit, that you have not, saith the Quaker.

And is not this a fair conclusion of this Dispute ? Hath not O. N. extreamly got the better of the Quaker ? But O. N. pleads yet farther, *that they make use of Notes and Rules of discerning of the pretences to Inspiration ; which I shall consider afterwards : but that which O. N. and Mr. Cressy do most insist upon, is this, that if such pretenders to Inspirations do speak or do any thing against the Catholick Church (as they call it) then their pretences are to be rejected as Satanical illusions. Very good ! This is a way to preserve themselves, but what is this to the preventing the delusions of such fanatick pretenders to Inspirations, who may be grossly deceived, and yet never speak or do any thing against their Church ; but it seems the least touch that*

*O. N. sect.
14.
way*

way presently marrs all. If *Mother Teresa* had but chanced to let fall a word against the *Power of Holy Water in driving away Devils*, or chanced in one of her *Visions* to have seen *Bread upon the Altar, after consecration*; away with her, a meer hypocrite and Impostor, one deluded by the Devil: and it had been well, if after all her *Visions* and *Raptures*, she had escaped the *Inquisition*. For can it possibly be so certain, that she had *Divine Visions*, as that *Holy Water drives away Devils*; or that she had *Mystical Unions*, as that *no bread remained upon the Altar after consecration*? No, no. If melancholy Women once offer to meddle in those matters, they must then be told of their *weakness of Judgement* and *strength of Imagination* and *delusions of the Devil*; but if they admire every superstitious foolery, and see strange effects of *Holy Water*, and in some *Visions* can discern the *very flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist*, then O heavenly *Visions*! O Divine *Saint*! Then her *Confessor* must soothe and flatter her, and suffer her to be deceived by her own imagination at least, if not by something worse. So that this whole business of *Visions and Revelations* among them is managed by *Politick Rules*; if they can serve to strengthen their interest, they are

are encouraged, if not, the persons are presently discountenanced, and if they persist in their pretences, in great hazard of the *Inquisition*. But may not weak and Melancholy Persons be deceived in judging the effects of a strong *Imagination* to be the *Inspirations* of the *Spirit* of God? *What then, say they? these do no hurt to the world.* But is it no injury to their souls, to suffer them to be so deluded? Is it no dishonour to *Christian Religion* to make the *Perfection* of the *Devotion* of it to consist in such strange unaccountable *Unions* and *Raptures*, which take away the use of all *Reason* and *Discourse*? Is it nothing to have Persons *Canonized* for *Saints*, and admired and worshipped, chiefly for the sake of these things? In which case, not only the particular persons, while they lived, were suffered to be abused; but the whole *Christian World* as much as lyes in them, is imposed upon; and the effects of a strong *Imagination*, and *Mystical Unions*, are recommended as the *perfection* of the *Christian State*.

§. 8. But whatever *Rules* they go by; I shall now shew, that such kind of *Ecstasies* and *Revelations*, as the *Mystical Divinity* pretends to, have been condemned by the *Christian Church* in former Ages; which will
yet

Baron. A.D.
173 n. 7. 25

yet farther discover, how far it is from being *a part of the Cristian doctrine*; so far is it from being *the perfection of a Christian State*. And the Instance I shall produce, will be such a one, wherein the judgement of the whole *Christian Church* was seen, *viz.* in the *ecstasies* and *Raptures* and *Revelations* which *Montanus* and his followers pretended to. *Baronius* proves from the testimonies of *Philastrius*, *Epiphanius*, *Theodoret* and others, that *Montanus* and his companions were good *Catholicks*, and great practisers of fasting and mortifications, and were in great esteem in the Church for a more than ordinary degree of sanctity; when they were in this reputation they pretended to have extraordinary *Visions* and *Ecstasies*, wherein they suffered such violences as *Mother Teresa* describes; and were under such a force upon their minds, as they thought *divine*, which deprived them of the present use of *ratiocination*, in which state, they said, they had many *Revelations from God*. Now here we have the very case of *Mystical Unions*; and we all know that this *Spirit of Montanus* was rejected in the Christian Church as a *Fanatick Enthusiastical Spirit*; but, it will be worth our while, to shew that it was upon this very ground, because the *Montanists* pre-

pretended to such *Ecstasies* and *Revelations* from God, which deprived men of the use of their Reason. *Claudius Apollinaris Bishop of Hierapolis* apprehending the dangerous consequences of these Enthusiastical pretences to *Ecstasies* and *Revelations* goes to *Ancyra* in *Galatia* to give himself full satisfaction as to the nature of them; and being returned, he writes this account to his friend *Marcellus*, that *Montanus* was wont to fall into sudden transports and ecstasies in which he became Enthusiastical, and uttered strange things, and prophesie; which, saith he, is a thing contrary to the constant tradition and practice of the Christian Church; the same he saith of the two female Enthusiasts, *Prisca* and *Maximilla*; and all the account he gives of their separation from the communion of the Church was because the Christian Church all over the world refused to give any entertainment to their *Enthusiastical Spirit*, and that the Churches of *Asia* having met together and examined this Spirit, they condemned it as impious, whereupon they were cast out of the Church; upon which *Maximilla* cried out, *I am driven away as a wolf from the Sheep*, but I am no wolf, but the word, and the Spirit, and the Power. *Miltiades*, as appears by *Eusebius*, writ a

*Euseb. Eccl.
histor. l. 5.
c. 16.*

c. 17.

Book

Book against the *Montanists* on this subject, that *God* did not communicate *Revelations* in *Ecstasies*; wherein he shewed, that *Montanus* was wont to fall into his *Ecstasies* which ended in an involuntary *Madness*; and then proves that none of the *Prophets* either of the Old or New Testament ever prophesied in *Ecstasies*, or when they had no use of their *Reason*. But no one speaks more punctually to this business, than *Epiphanius*, who lays down this as a general Rule, that whatever *Prophets* spake, they delivered with the clear use of their *Reason* and *Understanding*; and afterwards saith, that the *Montanists* were very much deceived in pretending to such *Visions* and *Revelations*, because *God* had sealed up his *Church*, and put an end to those extraordinary *Gifts*. While there was any need of *Prophets*, holy men of *God* were sent by him with a true Spirit καὶ ἑρῳμδύη διανοία καὶ παρεκβολῇ δυνάμει νοῦ, with great steadiness of mind, and a clear understanding; and afterwards makes this the characteristical difference of a true and false Prophet; that a true Prophet speaks μετ' ἁπαστάσεως λογισμῶν καὶ παρεκβολῆς δέσεως, with a great consistency of ratiocination and consequence. Thus *Moses*, thus *Isaiah*, saith he, thus all the *Prophets*; Do not you see, saith he, that these are the words

Epiphanius.
hær. f. 48.
sect. 2.

Sect. 3.

words of men that understood themselves, and not of men that were ecstatical : but these pretenders to Visions and Revelations speak dark and perplexed and obscure things (viz. much like to Mystical Divinity) which neither they understood themselves nor those that hear them. As any one may see in him by the fragments he hath preserved both of *Montanus* and *Maximilla*. But they pleaded Scripture too for their Ecstasies and Raptures, viz. Gen. 2. 21. Gods sending upon Adam a deep sleep, which was rendered *ἕκστασις* ; to which *Epiphanius* answers, that that was only a binding of his senses by *natural rest* ; and not any force upon the mind ; but they had another place too as impertinent as this, (but as impertinent as it is, it is the very same phrase that my Adversaries produce) *Ego dixi in excessu meo* ; which *Epiphanius* proves cannot be understood of any such Ecstasie as the *Montanists* pleaded for ; and in Truth he needed not take much pains to do it : But they could not follow the *Montanists* exactly, unless they abused Scripture too to justify their Visions and Ecstasies : So one *Ferdinandus de Diano* a Venetian Divine , writing a Book purposely in Vindication of these things, on the occasion of the Ecstasies and Visions of a Certain Nun,

Sect. 4.

Psal. 115. 11

Divinarum
gratiarum
Coruscatio
omnium Re-
velationum
materiam
aperiens. Ve-
net. 1626.
p. 14.

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which

which were sent to *Paul* the fifth, and which were taken by her *Confessor* for fourteen years together, makes use of the very same phrases of *Scripture* as the *Montanists* did; but exceeds them in impertinency: for to prove *Raptures* he produces all the places where the word *raptus* is used; *raptus est, nè malitia mutaret intellectum ejus*, Sap. 4. *Mens illius ad diversa rapitur*, Job 26. *rapiemur cum illis in nubibus*, 1 Thess. 4. but above all, commend me to *Holofernes* his *Rapture* to prove the *Raptures* of the *Popish Saints*; *Holophernis oculi à sandali- bus Judith rapti sunt, & ejus cor & sensus cum illis rapta sunt*, Jud. 16. Can any man be so hard hearted to withstand such manifest proofs as these are? But to return to *Epiphanius*; we are not to understand, saith he, any *Rapture* or *Ecstasie* of the *Prophets*, so as to suppose them to be deprived of the use of their reason and them: So he shews that *S. Peter* in his *Ecstasie* had still the free exercise of his *Reason*; which he absolutely affirms of every *Prophet* both of the *Old* and *New Testament*. What would *Epiphanius* have thought then of the glorious frenzies and heavenly follies of *M. Teresa*, in which she spake she knew not what? What of the *Mystical Unions* wherein the operations of the understand-

ing

P. 34.

Scit. 7.

Scit. 10.

ing are suspended? What of all the holy Violences the underwent wherein both understanding and memory were distracted? No doubt, he would have declared them all to be downright *Montanism*; and condemned by the whole *Christian Church*. Neither were these the only Persons who delivered the sense of the Church in this matter; but *S. Hierom* saith the same thing; *The Prophet*, saith he, *speaks not in an Ecstasie* (as *Montanus*, and *Prisca*, and *Maximilla* fondly imagine) but what he prophesies is the Book of the Vision of one who understands all he sayes. So of the Prophet *Habakkuk*, he understands what he sees (contrary to the perverse doctrine of *Montanus*) and speaks not as a fool, nor gives (as distracted women do) a sound without any signification. whence it comes that the Apostle commands that if any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, the first should hold his peace, for, saith he presently after, God is not the Author of confusion, but of peace; whence it follows, that he who holds his peace to give way to another to speak, he can either speak or hold his peace at his pleasure; but that he who speaks in an *Ecstasie*, i.e. against his will, is not at liberty to speak or to be silent. And to the same purpose he speaks in other

*Hieronym.
prefat. in
Nabum.*

*Prefat. in
Habac.*

*I Cor. 14.
30.
V. 33.*

Præfat. in
Isai. l. 1. c. 1.
in Isai. 33.

S. Chrysoſt.
in Plat. 45.
1.

In 1 Cor.
12. bom. 29.

S. Baſil in
Isai. ſerm 1.
præfat.

places, in which, he ſaith, that all the Viſions and Revelations which came from God were full of Wiſdom and Reaſon; and not like the Extravagancies of Montanus. Nay S. Chryſoſtom goes higher, and imputes all Fanatick Ecſtaſies to the Devil, who breaks in upon the Soul, and blinds the Underſtanding, and darkens the Reaſoning Faculty; but the Spirit of God doth not ſo; but ſuffers the heart to know what it ſayes. The Devil as an enemy fights againſt the humane ſoul, but the holy Spirit as taking care of it, and ready to do it good, communicates his Counſel to thoſe who receive it, and reveals unto them divine things with Underſtanding. And elſewhere, he makes this the great difference between Divination and divine Revelation; that the one was done in Ecſtaſies and Rapture, with violence to the mind; the other ſedately and compoſedly, and underſtanding whatever they ſpake: for God did not preſs them by violence, nor darkned their underſtandings; but did adviſe and teach them, leaving them ſtill Maſters of themſelves, whence Jonas fled, and Ezekiel put off, and Jeremiah excuſed himſelf. S. Baſil utterly denyes that the humane underſtanding was ever ſuſpended by divine Revelation; or that men were by the Spirit of God deprived of the uſe

use of Ratiocination. For how does it stand with Reason, that through the Wisdom of the Spirit, a man should become as one besides himself? and that the Spirit of knowledge should deliver things incoherent? for neither is light the cause of blindness, nor does the Spirit cause obscurity in mens minds, but raises the understanding to the contemplation of things intelligible, cleansing it from the stains of sin; nor is it improbable that through the design of the evil Spirit, (who layes his Ambushes to ensnare humane Nature) the mind is confounded; but to say, the same is done by the Spirit of God, is impious. From all which testimonies, nothing can be more evident, than that the Visions and Revelations, the Ecstasies and Raptures, which S. C. and O. N. do plead for, were condemned by the whole Christian Church, and the most eminent Lights of it, as the very height of Fanaticism.

But O. N. would have men believe, that the ancient Church did very much favour such Ecstasies and Visions; to that end he produces the Testimony of Tertullian, concerning the Sister that fell into an Ecstasie, and had the Vision of the Corporeity of the Soul: as though Tertullian were not known to have taken the part of Montanus in this matter; and in that very place (in the next

O. N. p. 16.

Tertull. de Anima 1.9.

words to those cited by O. N.) he pleads for the continuance of *Visions* and *Ecstasies* in the *Christian Church*, and in several other places of the same Book. And I desire

O. N. and his Brethren to consider a little better what they say, when they charge me with *making all Antiquity Fanatick*, upon the same grounds that I charge *Fanaticism on their Church*; for it is most evident by this Discourse, that I have the best and purest *Antiquity*, and the full consent of the *Christian Church* in the case of *Montanus*, clearly on my side. And I declare freely, that I value this consent above all the *Writers* of the *Lives of Saints*, from *S. Antonies* downwards; and it is the only considerable thing which *Diano* saith on this subject, *if we do not allow of Visions and Raptures and Revelations, what will become, saith he, of all the Lives of the Saints and the Legends which are full of them?* as may be seen in *Lippoman, Surius, Baronius*, and the *Monastick Histories* of the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*. What will become of the *Speculum exemplorum*, of the *Promptuaria*, the *Liber Apum*, the *Legends* of the blessed *Virgin*, and a thousand such excellent Books? Truly, it is the least part of my concernment what becomes of them; and I think it had been much more for the honour of

Chri-

O. N. sect. 6.

Diano de
Diano, p. 24.

Christianity, if they had never been writ.

And if as *O. N.* saith *it be now too late* *O. N. p. 12.*
to cry such things down, I am very heartily
 sorry for it: and it is a plain discovery
 that the *Spirit* of *Montanus* hath too
 much possessed that which they call the *Ca-*
tholick Church.

But *O. N.* besides *Tertullian* produces se- *O. N. from*
 veral passages of *S. Augustin* to justify these *sect. 32. to*
supernatural and extraordinary Graces and *sect. 40.*
caresses received from God; (for those of
S. Gregory and *S. Bernard* are not of so
 great weight in this matter, to deserve a
 particular consideration, where the consent
 of the *Christian Church* is so fully proved
 already) *S. Augustin* is brought in by him,
as acknowledging his Conversion from Ma-
nichaism to have been from a divine Re-
velation concerning Gods incorruptibility and
immutability: but what were this to the
 purpose, if the free use and exercise of his
 Reason were continued therein? yet no
 such thing doth appear by any thing said by
S. Augustin. In the dispute with *Fortunatus*, *Aug. c. For-*
 he doth say, *that he would answer that which* *tunat. Tom.*
God would have him to know, that God *6.*
could suffer no necessity, nor have any vio-
lence put upon him, (which *Fortunatus*
saith, God had revealed to him) and in the
 conclusion, making use of the force of that

argument, he saith, *by that he was divinely admonished to leave the Manichean doctrine.* And what is all this to *Mystical Divinity*? What *immediate Revelation*, or *Vision*, or *Rapture* was this, for a man to acknowledge there was something *divine* in the force of a particular argument to convince him? Do I ever call it *Fanaticism*, for men to acknowledge the *Grace of God* in the *illumination* of their minds, when some particular arguments may perswade them at some times, which at another might not have done it? And to let us see that *S. Augustin* meant no such thing as any *particular Revelation* in this case, in the seventh Book of *Confessions* he gives an account by what steps and degrees he was brought off from *Manichæism*, and as much by the exercise of Reason and understanding, as we shall easily meet with in any person. And

as to this particular argument, as though he had a mind to prevent any such imagination, he saith, *he had it from Nebridius at Carthage.* But I cannot but wonder at the bringing in the *Nesciens unde & quomodo* ——— and *hoc uno ictu* in the foregoing Chapter, where he speaks expressly of the manner of his forming a Conception of God as a *Spiritual Being*; upon which, he saith, *that although he could not tell whence,*

conf. l. 7.
c. 2.

c. 1.

or

or how, yet he was certain that a corruptible being was more imperfect than an incorruptible ; and therefore his heart did rise against his imaginations, and with this one stroke he endeavours to expell all the flock of phantasms from his conception of God. Was not this O. N. very hard put to it, to bring these passages to prove *Mystical Divinity*? To as little purpose doth he produce that ejaculation, *Age Domine & fac ; excita & revoca nos : accende ac rappe, &c.* for may not men pray for the exciting, assisting, and comforting Grace of God, without supposing *Ecstasies* and *Raptures* and *immediate Revelations*? But he was yet farther of , when he brought that place to prove these extraordinary favours from God ; *Lux es tu permanens quam de omnibus consulebam, &c.* which if he had looked on the beginning of the *Chapter* he would have found to be an Address to *Truth* ; *Ubi non mecum ambulasti veritas, docens quid caveam & quid appetam, &c.* And doth O. N. think that there is such a *Mystical Union* between the *Soul* and *Truth*, as to deprive men of the use of their *Reason* and *Understanding*? but I am tired with these impertinencies ; yet we must have more of them. For because S. *Austin* in describing the *depth* of his meditation concerning

L. 8 c. 4.

L. 10. c. 40.

L. 7. c. 10.

L. 9 c. 10.

cerning God and himself, doth mention, *that by the eye of his mind he saw an immutable light very far above it ; and by this reflection he became as certain of what he only understood, as if he had heard it in his heart ;* therefore this place serves to prove no less than the *fund of the soul,* and *Gods internal speech to the soul,* and what not ? I expect next, that *De's Cartes* his *Method* and *Metaphysical Meditations* should be brought to justify *Mystical Divinity ;* for they altogether serve as well for it. And cannot *S. Austin* express the *profound meditation* which he and his Mother *Monica* had concerning the blessed state of souls in Heaven, and the ardent desire they had of being there, and the Joy they found in the thoughts of it, without falling into the *unintelligible Canting of the Mystical Divines ?* God forbid, that I should ever call the Discourses, or Desires, or joyful thoughts of the happiness of Heaven, by the name of *Canting* : that were indeed to be impious and prophane ; but what is all this to a *perfect and immediate union with God in the pure fund of the Spirit in this present state ?* a *Union* which supposes a *cessation of Reason and Discourse ?* No such thing was in the least thought of by *S. Austin*, who was too great a *Philosopher*

pher to suppose *Contemplation* in this life without any act of *Reasoning or Discourse*. In his Book *de quantitate animæ*, he describes the several steps of the soul, and the highest of all he places in the contemplation of God as the *Supream Truth*, and declares that he could not express the *Joyes* which did attend the fruition of the true and chief Good. But great and incomparable minds have expressed these things as far as they thought them fit to be expressed, which we believe to have seen, and still to see those things. By which it is plain he speaks of the Joy of another World, and not of any *Mystical and passive Unions* in this : and afterwards he speaks of the imperfection of this contemplation here, and that therefore death will be desirable, because those things will then be taken away, which now hinder the whole Soul from fixing upon whole Truth. In his Book *de Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, he speaks of the *Egyptian Hermites* spending their life in contemplation, without mentioning any *Raptures and Ecstasies* they had ; and although he doth plead for their life supposing the usefulness of their prayers to others, yet he doth not dissemble that their manner of living was displeasing to some ; and afterwards saith himself, that the *Vertue of those who conversed*
with

*De quantit.
anim. c. 33.*

*De Morib.
Eccles. Cathol. c. 31.*

c. 32.

with mankind, deserved greater admiration and praise, such as the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Christian Church. But although *S. Austin* doth not, yet *O. N.* faith, that *Cassian* doth mention the frequent raptures and ecstasies of these Egyptian Hermits; but of all sorts of persons, those who lead an Eremitical life, are least fit to be produced; because all those who have written on this subject in the *Roman Church* do say, that the *illusions of the Devil* may be so like *divine Raptures*, that there is a necessity of a great deal of Judgement and Skill, to be able to put a difference between them; and that none ought to be allowed, but such as have been approved by *discreet Persons*; but in the case of these *Hermites* we may have just reason upon their own Rules, to suspect them, having been never brought under a sufficient Rule of tryal. If Persons may be deceived themselves in judging natural distempers and Satanical illusions for *divine raptures* and *visions*, then we have no reason to rely on the single Testimonies of such *Eremitical* Persons, who have no witnesses of their actions. What know we what sort of *Persons* *Abbot John* and *Abbot Isaac* were in the *Deserts of Ægypt*? we have only their single Testimonies in *Cassian*, and his single word that they said such things to him.

§. 9. But to take off the force of these and such like Instances, I shall consider the *Rules* laid down by their own *Writers*, concerning these things, and from thence shew, what grounds we have not to rely on the Instances produced by them, concerning *Visions*, and *Raptures*; and *Ecstasies*, and *Revelations*.

1. They confess that the natural force and power of *Imagination* will in some tempers produce all the same symptoms and appearances both to themselves and others, which there are in *supernatural elevations*. So *Cardinal Bona* (who very lately, and with the best Judgement hath collected the *Rules* of their *Writers* upon this subject) freely acknowledgeth not only that *Ecstasies* may be caused by natural diseases; (of which *Galen* gives an instance in a *Schoolfellow* of his, and *Fernelius* and *Sennertus* many others) but by the meer force of *Imagination*: by which the animal spirits flowing in greater quantities to the brain, do thereby hinder the external operations of the senses, so that the person under it continues without sense or motion, and in that condition fancies an extraordinary presence of that object which the imagination was fixed upon. And the more intense

Joh. Bona
de discret.
Spirituum
c. 14. n. 4.
Lut. Paris.
1673.

Paul. Zacch.
Quæst. M.
dico-legal.
l. 4. tit. 1.
q. 6. n. 4.

tense this imagination is, the greater flux of Spirits is made to the brain, and so the Ecstasie continues so much the longer, especially where the Spirits are more thick and melancholy, and consequently not so easily dissipated. So Paulus Zacchias saith, that we are not to conclude an ecstasie to be supernatural, because it ariseth from the contemplation of supernatural things; for the Imagination being fixed upon divine things, will have the same effects, that it would have upon other things. Thence, saith he, such persons do really think (as much as men do in dreams) that they are present at that time with Angels, or Saints, and have conferences with them; or that they see and enjoy God, or imagine themselves to be in Hell, or in Purgatory. And Persons seized upon with this ecstasie will continue for a long time in the very same posture it took them without any motion; so Plato reports of Socrates, that he stood a whole day without any alteration in the same Posture, his mind being abstracted with pure contemplation, and at night some Ionian Souldiers having observed him, lay down by him, and they found that he continued without any motion till the next morning. Favorinus in A. Gellius saith, that Socrates did this often: which

Plato in
Corvii. in
orat. Alci-
biadis,
p. 220. ed.
Serr.

A. Gell.
Noct. Att. l.
1. c. 1.

Cajetan

Cajetan imputes to the vehement intention of his mind; but he saith *Aristotle* layes it upon the disposition of his body; for he thought him besides himself, saith *Cajetan*; possessed, saith *Fortunatus Scacchus*; but neither the one nor the other appears by *Aristotle*, who only saith, that all extraordinary men in any way, had a deep tincture of Melancholy; for which among the *Philosophers* he doth instance in *Empedocles*, *Socrates*, and *Plato*; which temper, he saith, hath much in it of the nature of wine, which is more apt to heighten and inflame mens spirits, than Hony, or Milk, or water, it first makes men talkative, then eloquent and bold; then it stirs them to action, then it puts them into a rage, and at last by custom makes them meer Sots: all these several qualities some men have by their natural tempers: some, saith he, are much given to deep silence, as those whom Melancholy makes ecstatical; which temper although naturally cold, is capable of a greater degree of heat; as water being once heated, is hotter than the flame it self; and Stones and Iron heated become hotter than the Coals: so, saith he, it is with Melancholy, if it be over-heated, it fills them with joy and singing, and makes them ecstatical; and because this heat

*Caj. in 2.
2. 7. 175.
art. 1.*

*Problem.
c. 30.*

heat comes very near the seat of the mind, it is apt to make men distracted or enthusiastical; thence the Sibylls and the Bacchæ and such Enthusiasts became such not by a disease, but by a natural temper. And to that which is said in the *Life of S. Teresa* of one that made *Verses in an Ecstasie*, *Aristotle* hath a very fit parallel of *Maracus* a *Syracusan Poet*, that never made so good *Verses*, as when he was really *Ecstatical*: and for the great inequality of the tempers of such *Ecstatical persons*, *Aristotle* saith, that *Melancholy* as it produces very odd and irregular distempers, so it is very unequal of it self, sometimes very hot, and at other times very cold; which the *Mystical Divines* call the *State of Desolation*: but this temper being apt again to be inflamed of a sudden, it fills them with strange pleasures, especially the *Imagination* being fixed upon an *Object of Love*, which this temper, *Aristotle* observes, is more particularly disposed to: but because whatever makes persons *Ecstatical*, deprives them of the use of their Reason; therefore these *Mystical Unions* which have so much Joy and Pleasure, are said to be with a suspension of all the *Discursive Acts* of the mind. Which things are not to be thought extraordinary, especially in Persons

sons not only of a Melancholy temper ; but whose temper hath been heightned by the power of diseases, great severities, solemn silence and retirement : and whose Imagination hath been possessed with such Notions as do highly gratifie, an *Enthusiastical Disposition*, viz. such as relate to a more immediate *Union* with an Infinite *Object of Love*. So that there seems to be nothing in this *State of Pure Contemplation*, of which a reasonable account cannot be given from a natural Temper heightned and improved by the force of *Imagination*. And that this may seem the less strange, I shall produce an instance of this kind, which I believe will not be denied, to have been either effected meerly by *Imagination*, or at least, by something under a *Divine Power* : which is lately reported by a very credible and intelligent Person, and one who lives in the communion of the *Roman Church*. *Monsieur Bernier*, in his Letter to *Monsieur Chapelain* dated *Octob. 4. 1667.* concerning the *Gentiles of Indostan*, gives an account of certain *Orders of Religious* among them, who make vows of *Chastity, Poverty and Obedience*, living in *Convents under Superiours*, who are commonly called *Janguis*, i. e. *united to God*, who used themselves to many hardships,

*Berniers
Memoires,
par. 2. p. 136*

and were looked on as so many *Eremites* by the People ; being accounted true Saints , illuminated and perfect *Jauguis* ; These are people that have entirely abandoned the world, and sequestered themselves into some very remote corner, or gardenlike *Eremites* without ever coming to the Town. If you carry them any meat, they receive it ; if they do not, 'tis believed that they can live without it, and subsist by the sole Favour of God in perpetual fasting, prayer, and profound Meditations : for they sink themselves so deep into these raptures, that they spend many hours together in being insensible , and beholding in that time, as they give out, God himself, like a very bright and ineffable light, with an unexpressible joy and satisfaction , attended with an entire contempt and forsaking of the world. For thus much one of them that pretended he could enter into this Rapture when he pleased, and had been often in it, told me ; and others that are about them affirm the thing with so much seriousness, that they seem to believe in earnest, that there is no imposture in it. Which therefore Bernier imputes to an illusion of *Imagination* caused by Solitude and Fasting ; and this he calls the great *Mysterie* of the *Cabala* of the *Jauguis* ; and adds, that their extre-

mity

mity of Poverty, and Fastings, and Auste-
 rities contribute much to it ; wherein he
 saith, the European Fryers or Eremites are
 but Novices in comparison with them. I
 leave Mr. Cressy now to consider , whether
 these *Mystical Unions* and *Raptures*, be such
 priviledges of *Saints* ? Whether *Solitude*,
Abstraction from worldly cares, rigorous
Abstinences, and such like things , which
 he adores the *contemplative life* for, be
 so peculiar to their Church ? When we find
 the very same things among the *Gentiles*
 of *Indostan*. And the *Author* of the Book
De Sapientiâ divinâ secundum Ægyptios ;
 who seems to have been an *Arabian Philo-*
sopher , sets down these as the words of
Plato (and not as his own experience, as
Cardinal Bona relates them) *Being often in*
the depth of contemplation, my body being
left behind , I seemed to enjoy the chief
Good with incredible Pleasure. Wherefore
I stood as it were astonished , finding my
self to be a part of the upper world , and
to have obtained immortality , with the
clearest light ; which cannot be expressed
with words, nor heard by ears, nor under-
stood by the thoughts of men : and then he
describes the sadness he felt at the decay
of that glorious light ; and the pleasure which
returned with his former Ecstasies. This

*De sapientiâ
 secundum
 Ægyptios.
 c. 4.*

Cardinal Bona thinks might either come by the *natural force of contemplation*, or the *illusion of evil Spirits* ; but herein are all the same appearances that are pretended to in *Mystical Unions*. And to shew the *Power of Imagination* in causing *Ecstasies* ; besides that of *Socrates* , *Bona* mentions the like of *Carneades* related by *Valerius Maximus*, of *Plotinus* by *Porphyrus*, of *Iamblichus* by *Eunapius*, and the common instance of *Restitutus* in *S. Austin*, who fell into an *ecstasie* when he pleased. *Thomas Aquinas* reckons up three causes of *Raptures*, *Bodily distempers*, *Diabolical*, and *Divine Power* : but *Cajetan* saith, there is a fourth cause acknowledged elsewhere by him, viz. a *vehement intention of the mind* , which he therefore omitted, because he spake of causes *extrinsecal to the mind it self*.

2.2. q. 175.
art. 1. corp.
art.

§. 10. 2. There can be no certainty by the Rules laid down by themselves, that the *Ecstasies* and *Raptures* or *Visions* and *Revelations* of Persons, do come only from divine and supernatural Causes. For they grant that in all these cases there is reason to suspect *Ecstasies* and *Raptures*,

Card. Bona
de d. fr.
Spirit. c. 14.
n. 5.

1. If the Persons natural temper be very melancholy. This is the first Rule in *Cardinal Bona* ; for, saith he , those who are troubled

troubled with this, may easily fix their minds so upon one object, as to suffer an alienation of their senses from any other. *Joh. à Jesu Maria*, a great Mystical Divine, makes this his fourth Rule, to consider, whether the Person have a good understanding, or be troubled with any distemper in the head, or with Melancholy, or be subject to any vehement passions; which Cardinal Bona likewise adds; and therefore Cardinal Cajetan well notes, that the various motion of the heart, arising from some apprehension or desire, moves the body, and alters it according to different qualities; which alteration of the body doth again affect the imagination and appetite; from whence we may observe, that those accidents which often happen to persons under Ecstasies are Originally caused from their own apprehension, although afterwards, custome being turned into nature, makes them fall under them whether they will or no. Which is seen by this, that if they turn their imaginations with all their force quite another way, those accidents forsake them, as, saith he, I have found by certain experience: which is a plain discovery that these things are produced by natural causes. *F. Baker* himself puts that down among his Rules, whether the Persons be not addicted to Me-

Joh. à Jesu Maria Theolog. Myst. c. 8.

Cajet. in 1. 2. q. 17. art. 7.

Sacra. Sophia tr. 3. sect. 4. c. 3. n. 11.

lancholy? from which Rule, there is great reason to suspect those who have complain-
ed of *being oppressed with a most profound Melancholy*, as *M. Teresa* did: and we have reason to believe it of all those *Lovers of Solitude*, that forsake all conver-
sation of mankind, as the *Ægyptian Ere-
mites* did.

Fortunat.
Scacch. de
not & sign.
Sanct. sect.
8. c. 3.

2. If their proficiency in virtue be not very great. This is the first Rule laid down by *Fortunatus Scacchus*, Prefect of the Popes Chappell, in his *Book of the Qualifications necessary to Canonization*; viz. that we examine the life and actions of the Persons who pretend to *Ecstasies and Raptures*; if they have been such as have come up to an *Heroical degree of Perfection*, it may be believed that they come from God; but if not, they come either from a *natural or Diabolical cause*; especially, saith he, if they happen in women, who may seem to aim either at the *fame of Sanctity*, or some advantage by it. Great Caution, saith *Cardinal Bona*, is to be used in judging the *Raptures of Young Beginners*; for the very *Novelty and Sweetness of Divine Contem-
plation* is apt to put such into *Ecstasies*: it is like *strong Wine*, which they cannot bear without *intoxication*. Besides, saith he, it ought to be inquired into, whether their

Bona ib.

Souls

Souls be capable of such favours, what purity and humility they have attained to, whether their lives be as much above the world, as they pretend their souls are: if not, they are no true raptures, but illusions of the Devil: to the same purpose the rest speak. What must we then think of those Raptures which *M. Teresa* had, when she said, *she was very backwards, and but in the beginnings of vertues and mortifications?*

Sant. Soph.
n. 19.

3. If they are not able to give any good account of what they speak in their ecstasies: this *Cardinal Bona* layes down, *That if when they come to themselves, they know not what they said in their Ecstasies, but refer the hearers to what they spake then; or if they speak whether they will or no, there is great reason to suspect them. For this, saith Cardinal Cajetan, is a condition of true Inspiration, that the Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets in this, that they do not speak with any disturbance of mind, as though they were acted by another, but from their own sense with a quiet mind, understanding what they speak; therefore, saith he, they that speak in alienation of mind, or after it, do not remember what they spake in it, have no true inspirations. From whence it appears, saith he, that those*

Bona ib.
p. 250.

Cajet. in 2.
q. 173.
art. 3.

who in their Ecstasies speak in the Person of Christ, or of some Saint, as though they were acted by them, are either seduced, or do seduce. And yet the foolish world is astonished, and admires, and adores these words and actions. But this rule, although as much grounded on Scripture and Reason, as any; is, as far as I can find, very carefully omitted by the *Mystical writers*, for a very good Reason, which they well know.

4. If they have weakned themselves by very long fastings: for so Cardinal Bona saith, *that very great weakness may bring them to fainting fits and Ecstasies*; and he tells us from S. Teresa, *that she cured a Nun of her Ecstasies by making her leave her Fasting, and bringing her to a good habit of Body*. It is great pity, the same experiment had not been tryed upon her self. Some, saith Bona, have made that an argument that their Ecstasies were supernatural, because they continued many dayes in them without eating or drinking; whereas many have undergone long fasts without a Miracle; and some of the Indian Priests have fasted twenty dayes together; but because in those parts the heat may take away their appetite, therefore Paulus Zacchias produces many instances of very long

Fasts

Bona p.
253.

Carol. Clus.
not. in Garz.
ab Horto
c. 3.
Paul. Zacch.
quest Me-
dico-l'g.
l. 4. tit. 1.
q. 7.

Fasts in these *European* parts without any miracle ; besides what *Licetus*, *Horstius*, *Kornmannus* and *Sennertus* and others have related to the same purpose ; and such Instances have been lately known among us in *England*.

5. If they be very frequent and ordinary and happen upon any slight occasion. For saith *Paulus Zacchias*, since *Divine Raptures* have the nature of something miraculous in them, we are not to suppose them to be very common, and as often as any one pleases ; therefore, saith he, when we see a person fall frequently into *Ecstasies*, we may justly presume that it is something natural, since God doth not commonly work miracles. Cardinal *Bona* saith, that *Sales* thought, the meer frequency of having *Divine Revelations* was enough to make them suspected. And for persons to fall as often as they please into *Ecstasies*, is, saith *Scacchus*, an evident sign of a *Diabolical illusion* : so the *Maid of Saragoza* and *Magdalena Crucia* were discovered. And what shall we then think of the almost continual raptures of *S. Teresa* ? What of the *Abbot Sisoi* mentioned by *Bona*, that fell into a rapture, unless he let fall his hands at prayers ? What of *Br. Gyles*, mentioned both by *Bona* and *Scacchus*, that thought it so easie

Pa. l.
Z. tech. l. 4.
t. t. I. q. 6.
n. 33.

Bona de
discret. Spi-
rit. c. 20.
p. 411.

Scacch. p.
612.

easy to fall into *raptures*, that if any one spake the word *Paradise*, he fell into an *Ecstasie*; insomuch that the Boyes of *Perusium*, as *Scacchus* relates it, would come behind him and cry *Paradise*, on purpose to make him immediately fall down in a *Trance*: must we acknowledge this to be from God? But what shall we say to *Br. Roger*, mentioned by *F. Baker* out of *Harphius*, that *had a hundred Raptures in a Mattins*?

*Sacra Sophia Tr. 3.
sect 3. c. 6.
n. 22.*

6. If they appear desirous of them, and are apt to report them to others, and to have them made publick. So *Joh. à Jesu Maria* would have it observed, *whether they are apt to speak of them, without being asked, or upon an easy request; whether they pray for them, or come to prayers in hopes of them.* *Cardinal Bona* would have it observed likewise, *where they happen, if in publick places where they may be taken notice of?* This Rule may hold as to *Satanical illusions*; but where they arise from meerly *natural causes*, persons may not at all be desirous of them, nay, may strive against them, and endeavour to keep them secret, and yet they may not be divine.

*Bona ib. &
p. 415.*

These are some of the most generally approved *Rules* among the *Persons* of judgement

ment and understanding in the *Roman Church*; and if we could proceed according to these, in the examination of the Instances produced of *Raptures* and *Ecstasies*, not one of a thousand would pass by their own *Rules*. But when all is done, these *Rules* are very little observed, but they are approved or condemned, according to the *Rules* of *Policy*, and not of *Divinity*.

But besides these, the *Mystical Divines* have some particular *notes* of their own, which neither themselves nor any else can understand; as *Father Bakers* first *Rule*; viz. the *Wills* being moved without the ordinary precedent action of the understanding or *Imagination*: the fifth rule, about the efficacy of internal words, and the *Souls* conceiving more by them, than in themselves they signify; and others as unintelligible as these, viz. those delivered by *M. Teresa*, and set down in order by *Joh. à Jesu Maria* to distinguish divine *Visions* from the effects of *Imagination*; as, the not missing a syllable of internal words, the great secrecy of them, being spoken in so close a place in the soul, that the Devil cannot come at them, (to eves-drop them) and several other such senseless things. And I do suppose no man will believe any thing

Sacra Sophia Tr. 3.
sect. 4. c. 3.
n. 10. 14.

Joh. à Jesu Maria Theol. Myst. c. 8.
p. 89, 90.

thing to be from God, meerly because it cannot be understood by men; for then the greatest non-sense and contradictions might pass for *Divine Revelations*.

§. II. And as there can be no certainty by their own Rules as to Raptures and Ecstasies, so neither can there be as to *Visions* and *Revelations*. For,

1. They grant, that those that are of no use, are not to be allowed; as, *If the matter of Revelations be vain and curious, saith Jesu Maria, or that which may be known without Revelation; now, say I, if there be no Revelation at all to be expected as to matter of doctrine, all the other things are vain and curious, there being no other end suitable to divine Revelation besides this. And Cardinal Bona makes a very ingenuous confession, that there is a great deal of danger and no profit at all in Visions; and that by them a way is opened for many deceits and illusions of the Devil.* Can any man of common sense then believe that God should cause such extraordinary *Visions*, which bring no profit but abundance of danger along with them? *we walk much more safely, saith he, by faith, whose light far exceeds all Visions and Revelations of Mysteries. And no argument*

*De discret.
Spirit. c. 19.
§. 1.*

gument of sanctity, saith Scacchus, can be drawn from them; because Christian perfection doth not consist in them: and Revelations do not make us either more pleasing to God, or more useful to our Neighbour, and he quotes Gerson with approbation, for saying, that the antient Fathers did fly from the curiosity of Visions and Miracles, as the most deceitful and dangerous; and that S. Austin gave God thanks that he was delivered from it, and that Bonaventure saith, it is to be abhorred and striven against with all our power. And Scacchus himself concludes, that there is usually a secret pride and hypocrisie to be thought Saints, which makes Persons desire Visions and Revelations, which are inconsistent with true Sanctity; and if it be not pride, it is a vain curiosity, wherefore God often suffers them to be deceived.

De Not. &
signa. Sanct.
sect. 8. c. 4.

2. That it is a very hard matter in this case to distinguish the illusions of the Devil, from Divine Visions and Revelations. For they do not pretend to the only certain way which the Prophets and Apostles made use of, viz. the working miracles to confirm the Truth of their Testimony: for among all the numbers of Miracles they boast of, they pretend to none for the proper end of Miracles, viz. to confirm Divine

Re-

De discret.
Spirit.
c. 19. n. 7.

N. 4.

Revelation. And therefore, it is no wonder *Scacchus* yields up this, as a very doubtful thing, considering how easie and common a thing it is for the Devil to deceive men in this matter. And Cardinal Bona confesses, that the Devil doth often assume the Person of Christ and of the Blessed Virgin, with so much art and cunning as to deceive very good men, as is evident from most certain experience, as well as the Testimony of the Fathers. Nay, he denies; that ever the Person of Christ did appear to any since *S. Pauls Vision*; and he saith, that to assert otherwise, is against the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and not agreeable to that article of our Faith, wherein we believe that he sits at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again to judge the *Quick and the Dead*. Yet what abundance of *Visions of Christs Person* do we meet with in the *Legends of Saints*, and of his appearance with flesh and blood in the *Eucharist*: but if the Person of Christ do never appear, it cannot be proved from any of those *Visions*, that the very body of Christ is there.

3. That it were far better if a stop were put to all private Revelations among them that are not confirmed by *Miracles* or *Testimony of Scripture*. This Cardinal Bona wishes,

wishes , *that the Confessors among them* C. 20. n. 2.
would at last take care of ; which no man
 certainly would do , if he believed them
 to be from God. *Cardinal Cajetan saith,*
that we can have no certainty of private
Revelations, although the Persons who pre-
tend to them, should not only protest but
swear to it, that they have them from God:
 and in general concludes , *that we are not*
bound to believe them. From which it ne-
 cessarily follows, that there are no certain
 Rules to know when they are from God ;
 for if there were, an obligation to believe
 them would lye upon those who had tryed
 them by those Rules.

4. If Revelations made to two several
 Persons do contradict each other, that there
 is great Reason to suspect both. *For al-*
though, saith Cardinal Bona, it be possible
that one may be true and the other false,
and the Devil may endeavour to take away
the Authority of the True by the false, yet
for the most part they are both suspected
and doubtful. And before he saith, *that*
it is reasonable to believe those Women
Saints were deceived, in supposing their
own Fancies to be divine Revelations, who
have published Revelations contradicting
each other. Which it is plain he intended
 for the famous case of the Revelations of

S. Briggitt

Cajet. in
2. 2. q. 174.
art. 6.

De discret.
Spirit. c. 20.
n. 4. p. 409.

Ib. c. 17. p.
299.

Fanaticism.
p. 67, 68.

S. Brigitt and S. Katharin, which contradicted each other expressly about the immaculate conception; and which I had produced as a plain instance of a false pretence to *Inspiration* in the *Roman Church*, it being impossible God should contradict himself. Mr. Cressy in answer to this, first confesses that the publick Office of their Church testifies that each of them were favoured with Divine Revelations, and then produces the Testimony of S. Antonin, that those things may be supposed by the Persons themselves to be divine Revelations, which are but humane dreams. Thirdly, He cites Cardinal Baronius, who seems to reject the Revelations on both sides. And yet he by no means will allow the honour of their Church to be concerned herein, which hath approved them both as Persons truly Inspired; when Mr. Cressy confesses, they did not testifie their Revelations by Miracles, and that without it Divine Revelation cannot be known. I would not desire a greater advantage from an Adversary, than Mr. Cressy here gives me against himself. For by his own confession then, their Church approves those to have had *divine Revelations* which never gave the proper evidence of it, viz. *Miracles*, and such whose Revelations are questioned by the Wisest men
among

among them. And what is all this but to give Countenance, (for all that the Church can know) to a meer pretence to *Inspiration*? which is the highest *Fanaticism* in the World. And if as he saith, *notwithstanding the Councils approbation, there is scarce a Catholick alive that thinks he hath an obligation to believe either of them*; this makes as much to my purpose as I desire; for if they have no obligation to believe them, they may without sin believe them not to be *divine Revelations*; and since they are given out to be such and approved by their *Church*, all such Persons may without sin charge them with the highest *Fanaticism* in a false pretence to *Divine Revelation*. And why then should I be so much blamed for doing that, which Persons in their own Church may do without sin? But I see Mr. *Cressy* is not acquainted with the common Doctrine of their own *Divines* about the obligation that lyes upon Persons to believe Private Revelations; For they agree,

1. That those Persons to whom those Revelations are made are bound to believe them before any *approbation* of the *Church*? For say they, the primary Reason of assenting to a Divine Revelation is from the Divine Veracity; to which it is wholly acci-

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dental

dental whether it be publick or private, and the Churches proposition is only the common external condition of applying the object of Faith to us ; but there may be as great an obligation to believe a private Revelation, supposing only sufficient motives to the mind of the Person that this Revelation comes from God. This is the opinion of *Vega, Catharinus, Suarez, Lugo, Ysambertus*, and as they tell us, of most of their modern Divines. Indeed they mention *Cajetan, Sotus, Canus* and some others as of another opinion ; but *Suarez* saith, *they seem to differ only in words*, because they will not have that assent called *Catholic Faith* ; which the other are willing to yield to them, and call it *Theological Faith*, but do make it as certain and infallible as the other. Which they prove, not only from the obligation to faith in the private Revelations mentioned in Scripture, but from invincible Reason, because the ground of the assent of faith is not the publickness of the Revelation, but the Divine Authority and Veracity ; which being supposed, must equally oblige, whether the Revelation be private or publick. And if there be sufficient motives to believe a private Revelation ; to deny an obligation to believe it, is a contempt of Divine Authority ;

*Vega in
Concil. Trid.
l. 9.
Catharin.
de certit.
grat. c. ult.
Suarez de
Fide disp. 3.
sect. 10.
Lugo de Fi-
de disp. 1.
sect. 11.
Ysambert. de
Fide disp.
12. art. 3.*

rity ; and to suppose there cannot be sufficient motives, is to say, that God cannot do as much by himself, as he can by the Church. The force of which Reason I do not see how it is possible for those to avoid who assert, that God doth still communicate private Revelations to mens Minds.

2. That supposing these Revelations to be proposed by the Church, all others are bound to believe them to be divine Revelations. For then they have the same reason, which they have to believe any Revelation. All the difficulty now is, to understand what a sufficient proposal by the Church in this case is ; *Suarez* saith, *that although private Revelations be chiefly intended for the persons to whom they are made, yet a sufficient proposal of them being made to others, there doth arise from thence an obligation to believe them.* For which saith he, *The general Rule is the approbation of the Church ; as appears by the Lateran Council under Leo 10. which forbade the Preaching private Revelations without the examination and approbation of the Church ; and then saith Suarez, the believing them becomes a part of Catholick Faith.* Now I desire to know, how it is possible for their Church to shew greater care in the examination and approbation of any private Revelations,

Suarez id.
n. 7.

*Concil. La-
teran. sub
Leon. 10.
sess. 11.*

velations, than it did in those of *S. Brigitt*? they being frequently examined by the publick *Authority* of their *Church*, and after such examination declared by the *Pope* to have come from the *spirit of God*; and at last approved, say their own writers, at the *General Council of Basil*. How could they possibly express greater approbation of any controverted Book in the Bible? But if after all this, these *Revelations* may pass among them for *Dreams* and *Fancies*, and no men are obliged to believe them, let them clear their *Church* from *Fanaticism*, if they can. For either those *Revelations* were from *God* or not? if not, then they were *Fanatical illusions* approved by their *Church*; if they were, then since they were approved by those whom they are bound to believe, with what face can *Mr. Cressy* say, that there is scarce a *Catholick* alive that thinks he has an obligation to believe them? which I do the more wonder at, since they believe things as absurd already, and with as little reason as any thing in *S. Brigitts Revelations*. And therefore the *Person of Honour* had great Reason to say, “ that *Mr. Cressy* hath in truth not answered the Weight of my Instance from the *Revelations* of *S. Brigitt* and *S. Catharine*.

*A. in ad-
vers. p. 68.*

5. They

5. They confess that some persons are very lyable to be deceived in believing themselves to have divine Revelations. *Such, saith Card. Bona, are those that have* C. 20. n. 3, 4 *a bad habit of body, that have a restless and vehement imagination, that have a great deal of Melancholy, which is apt to corrupt the Imagination, so as they are apt to fancy that they see and hear things which they neither see, nor hear. And likewise, saith he, from long fasting and immoderate watchings, vain phantasms may arise in the brain, by which the mind being deceived, adheres to them as to divine Revelations. And what are these else but the Fanatick heats of Enthusiasm? Besides, he saith, that regard ought to be had to the humour, disposition, condition, conversation, and Age of the Persons; for old men are apt to doat, and young men to be hot and credulous; but especially great caution must be used towards women, whose sex is the more to be suspected because of its weakness; for by reason of the vehemency of their thoughts and affections they think they see that which they desire, and that which arises from their own violent passions, they believe to be true; and it is an easie matter for the Devil, (and no great conquest he thinks) through their want of Reason and Judgement to deceive*

them. Therefore he saith peremptorily, *that the Bishops and Guides of Souls should oppose and despise their Revelations and severely rebuke them, for pretending to things too high for them :* and he at large discovers, *the great mischiefs which have come to the Church by Womens pretending to Revelations.* I confess after all these severe things, he doth at last approve the *Revelations* of *S. Teresa*, which I very much question whether he would have done or no, if he had been her Confessour; but now she was *Canonized* for a *Saint*, and it would not have been so agreeable for a *Roman Cardinal* to have exposed to the world the *self-delusions* of a *Roman Saint.* But I desire no more in her Instance, or any other among them than to compare the circumstances of them with these Rules laid down by their own most approved Authors. From which it appears that although *Mr. Cressy* declares that, *they are very well content with their Fanaticks and Fanaticism,* yet there are some wise men among them, which are not.

Epistle A-
pologet.
p. 30.

§. 12. Having thus far shewn, that this way of *Mystical Divinity* with all its *raptures* and *Ecstasies* and *passive Unions*, had no *Foundation* in the *Christian Doctrine*, nor
in

in the consent of the *Christian Church* of the purest Ages, I now come to shew whence it came into any *Vogue* and *Reputation* among *Christians*. It is an easie matter to discover that the Foundation of it was laid by the counterfeit *Dionysius Areopagita*, to whom Mr. Cressy and O. N. do referr me. *Who*, saith Mr. Cressy, *whatever his true name was, was questionless an Author of the second or at least the third Age of the Church, and who describes the most sublime and most purely divine prayer exercised by Hierotheus a Disciple of the Apostles.* But if he lived in the second or third Age, he must be a Counterfeit, (for *Dionysius* dyed within the compass of the first Century, as *Sirmondus* hath fully proved) and if he were a Counterfeit, how came he to know *the divine prayer of Hierotheus* ? However I do acknowledge that this *Author*, whoever he was, was justly pitched upon by Mr. Cr. For it is from him, they not only borrow the *Mystical Notions*, but most of the *Phrases* too : And assoon as those Books, written by him, came to be known and admired in the *Eastern* and *Western Churches*, there were some so fond of this *Mystical Divinity*, as to cry it up as the most perfect way of *devotion*, being especially accommodated to Persons of an *Enthusiastical* temper ;

Fanaticism
p. 39.

who were withal confin'd to Solitude and Retirement from the World. It will not be amiss therefore to give a taste of his *Mystical Divinity*, as far as it is possible to bring his affected Bombast within the compass of our language. Thus he begins,

Diarys. de
Mysticâ
Theol. cap. I.

O thou superessential Trinity, above all notion of Deity and Goodness ; O thou Governour of the Divine Wisdom of Christians, direct us to the most unknown, most clear, and most supream height of *Mystical Oracles* ; in which the simple, absolute, and unchangeable *Mysteries of Divinity* are hidden, by the over-shining darkness of a Teaching Silence, discovering the most glorious light in the most profound obscurity, and over-filling the blindest minds with the most beautiful beams, in that which can neither be felt nor seen.

Let this Prayer be for my self: But Thou O friend Timothy by thy diligent exercise in these *Mystical Speculations*, leave thy senses and the operations of thy mind, and all things sensible and intelligible, and all things which are not and which are ; and after an unknown manner elevate thy self to that Union which is above all essence and knowledge : and when by a pure and perfect Abstraction of thy self, thou shalt be free and loose from all things, thou shalt be

be raised to the superessential Ray of Divine Darknefs.

Then after he hath given caution to Timothy, that these divine Mysteries be not communicated to those that would make use of their knowledge in these things, any more, than to those, who followed their Imaginations; because the superessential being dwelleth in darknefs; and as to him, affirmations and negations are not opposite, being above all; he shews, that the Cause of all things is above all Reason and understanding, and is only truly and plainly made known to those who ascend above all sensible and intellectual things, and above all divine Lights, and heavenly Sounds and Words, and are swallowed up of Darknefs: which he expresseth, by the Allegory of Moses going into the Cloud upon the top of the Mount: then, saith he, this Mystical Moses is carryed up above all visible and intellectual heights, being taken into the truly Mystical Cloud of unknowing, in which he puts a stop to all knowing perceptions, and is in that which can neither be seen nor felt, being altogether his who is above all, and not of any one else, neither of himself nor any other; and being under a cessation of all knowledge is in a firmer union to that which cannot be known; and because he under-
stands

stands nothing, he understands more than his mind can reach to.

This is certainly the very height of *My-
stical Union* and the *Perfection* of the *Con-
templative State* : in the description of
which, I have kept as near as I could to his
words, and as to the sense have followed
Carolus Herfentius, a late Mystical Divine,
who hath taken the greatest care and pains
to explain the meaning of this obscure
Author upon this argument. To the same
purpose he speaks elsewhere, where he saith,
that the most Divine way of knowing God is
*by not knowing him, by an Union above un-
derstanding ; when the Mind being ab-
stracted from all things and going out of it
self is united to those overbright beams, by
which he is enlightened in the unsearchable
depth of wisdom.*

*De Divin.
Nomin. c. 7.
l. 3.*

Any one that casts an eye upon this kind
of Discourse, will easily find it to proceed
upon very different grounds, in order to the
perfection of mens minds, from what are de-
livered in the *Christian Religion*. For
S. Joh. 17. 3. *there it is said to be eternal life, to know
God and his Son Jesus Christ ; here we are
told that we cannot come at perfection in
the way of knowledge, but of Ignorance
and not knowing : There it is said, that*
I Joh. 1. 5. *God is Light and in him is no darkness at
all ;*

all ; here that he is the most *profound darkness* and *obscurity*. Here we meet with no difference at all as to the clearness of our apprehensions concerning the *Divine Nature*, from what men had before the Christian Doctrine ; whereas it is one of the excellencies of Christianity that by it we come to know the true *God* much better than mankind had done before, and are able to form a very true and distinct conception of him in our minds, as of a Being of infinite Wisdom and Goodness and Power. Although we cannot attain to a full comprehension of the utmost extent of the Perfections of the Divine Nature ; yet that doth not hinder our conceptions from being clear and True, though not adequate and perfect. And if we could have no clearer knowledge and more steady conceptions of the Divine Nature by the doctrine of Christ, to what end are we told by it, *that no man hath* Joh. 1. 18.
seen God at any time, the only begotten Son which is in the bosome of the Father he hath revealed him ; that now the *vail of darkness* is taken away, and we all with ^{2 Cor. 3.}
open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image ; not that our *transformation* is to come by *darkness* and the cessation of intellectual operations, as this *Mystical Union*
implies.

Comment. in
Myst. Theol.
l. 135.

implies. But besides, this *Mystical way* pretends to carry men above all *external Revelation* as well as intellectual knowledge, for so much is implied in the *raising the mind above all Divine Lights, and heavenly Sounds and words, i. e. faith Hersentius, above all the manifestations of God whatsoever which are made to the Mind.* Which *Mystical way of Perfection*, being supposed possible, I see no necessity at all of Christs coming into the World, nor of any influence his Death or Sufferings or Doctrine could have upon the bringing men to a *State of Happiness.* For the whole *Hypothesis* proceeds only upon these principles. 1. The *obscurity of the Divine Nature*, and the impossibility of our attaining so clear a perception of *God* in our minds, as for us ever to hope for a *state of Perfection* with the exercise of our *Reason* and *Understanding.* 2. That the only possible way of attaining it, is by the *abstraction* of our selves from all *sensible and intellectual operations*, and thereby bringing our souls to an *immediate Union* wth the *Divine Essence.*

§. 13. Having thus endeavoured to bring these things out of the Clouds of the sublime Nonsense and seeming contradictions which

which they were wrapt up in, we may more easily discern from whence all these *notions* were taken and flyly conveyed into the Christian doctrine as the highest way of Perfection. For which we are to consider, that the Christian Religion growing very considerable, notwithstanding all the endeavours used by the Roman Emperours and Governours of Provinces to suppress it, and very Learned men having taken upon them the profession of it in several parts of the Empire, but especially at *Alexandria*; the Heathen Philosophers saw there was an absolute necessity of making the best they could of the Pagan Theology. To this end they bestirred themselves to gather together the most considerable parts of the *Chaldaick*, *Aegyptian*, and *Platonick* Theology; and putting them together to form such a method for the *Perfection* of mens souls, as would appear more sublime, than the Christian Institution. For this end *Plotinus*, *Porphyrie*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus* and the rest of them, did imploy the utmost of their study and care : for they saw now it was to no purpose for them to spend their time in idle curiosities, and the vain disputes of the several Sects of Philosophers ; therefore they endeavour to lay aside these, (*Ammonius* of *Alexandria* having shewed them

them the way) and to bend their studies chiefly about shewing men such a way of *Purifying* their *Souls* as might bring them to a *State of Perfection*, without embracing Christianity. For they saw, that the common people were become *Philosophers* by the help of the Christian Religion, and outwent them in the bearing Torments and all sorts of Miseries, only in expectation of that *Blessed State* which the Christian Religion did give men so great assurance of, and gave such excellent directions, by the practice of all divine vertues, for mens attaining to it. We know there was no greater enemy in the world to the Christian Religion than *Porphyrius* was, against whom *Eusebius*, *Methodius* and many others writ in defence of Christianity. Yet it appears by what we have remaining of his writings, that he had a very mean esteem of the common customs of *sacrificing*, and of those *Dæmons* which were pleased with *the smoke of flesh*; and he looked upon the *Theurgick way*, as lyable to deceit and not capable of advancing the soul to highest perfection. Which *Theurgick way*, lay in the initiating of men in some sacred mysteries, by partaking of certain rites and symbols, by which they were admitted to the presence of some of their Deities; the end whereof,

as

*Jamblich.
de Myster.
Segin. 5.
c. 11.*

as they pretended, was, reducing the souls of men to that state they were in before they came into the Body : So *S. Augustin* tells us from *Porphyrie*, that they who were purified after this manner did converse with *glorious appearances of Angels* which they were fitted to see ; but *Porphyrie* himself, as he did not utterly reject this *lower* and *symbolical way* ; so he said, that the highest perfection of the *soul* was not attainable by it ; but it was useful for purifying the *lower part* of the soul but not the intellectual. By the lower part he understood the *irrational*, which by the *Theurgical Rites* might be fitted for *conversation with Angels* ; but the *intellectual part* could not be elevated by it to the *Contemplation of God*, and the *Vision of the Things that are True* : and herein he placed the utmost perfection of the *soul* in its *return to and union with God in this upper part* or fund of the soul ; for the utmost the other attained to, was only to live among the *Ætherial spirits*, but the *Contemplative Souls* returned to the *Father*, as he speaks ; which as many other of his *Notions*, he borrowed from the *Chaldaick Theology*. To shew, what this *Intellectual* or *Contemplative Life* was, that should bring mens souls to this *state of Perfection*, *Porphyrie* writ a Book on purpose,

*S. August.
de Civit.
Dei. l. 10. c.
c. 10.*

*c. 27, 28,
29.*

pose, *Of the Return of the Soul*, as *S. Austin* tells us, who quotes many passages out of it : and this particular precept above all the rest, *that the soul must fly from all body if it would live happy with God*; which is all one with *Abstraction of mind and pure contemplative life*. In that Book he complains that there was no perfect way yet known to the World for this end, not the *Indian, Chaldaick* or any other. But what that was, which he meant, appears, by what he saith near the end of the *Life of Plotinus*, where he hath these words, τέλει γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ σκοπὸς ὡς τὸ ἐνωθῆναι καὶ πλαῖσαι τὸ ἐπὶ πάντι θεῷ. *The scope and end of his Life was union and conjunction with God over all : and four times, saith he, when I was with him he attained to this union, by an unexpressible act of the Mind : which he before sets forth, by a Divine illumination without any Image or Idea, being above the understanding and all intelligible things. And he saith of himself, that he was once in this state of Union, when he was 68. years of Age : which Holstenius understands of an Ecstasie he then fell into ; and imputes it to the depth of his Melancholy joyned with his abstracted and severe life, his frequent watchings and almost continual exercise of contemplation.*

For

For all these things were remarkable in him ; and *Ennapius* saith of him, *that he was so little a lover of the body, that he hated his being a man, and being in Sicily, he was almost famished by abstinence, and shunned all conversation with mankind : as he begins the life of Plotinus, that he was like one ashamed that his soul was in a Body.* So that we find the Foundation here laid not only for the *Mystical Union*, but the *abstraction of mind* necessary in order to it : and that it doth not lye in any *intellectual operations*, but rather in a *cessation of these acts*, is likewise expressly affirmed by *Porphyrie*.

Ennap. vit.
Porphyr.

Many things, saith he, are said of understanding things that are above the mind ; but the contemplation of those things is better performed ἀνομιὰ καὶ ἄνευ νοήσεως otio & vacacione intellectus, as Holstenius renders it, rather by the Rest and cessation of operation in the understanding than by the exercise of it ; as many things, while a man wakes, are said of him that he does when he sleeps, but the knowledge and perception of them is by sleep ; for things are best understood by Assimilation. And elsewhere he saith, that our manner of understanding all things is different according to their essence ; those things that are above the mind are to be known ἀνευ νοήσεως τε καὶ ὑπέρ νοήσεως

Porphyrii
Sentent. n. 28.

N. 10.

N. 7, 8, 29,

N. 31, 32.^{30.}

N. 34.

in the way of unknowing, and after a superessential manner, where we see the very Phrases of Dionysius used by him ; and in many places he speaks of the minds abstracting and loosing it self from the Body, and drawing it self nearer to the First Being ; of the Souls Being in God ; of the pure and clear light which follows the abstraction of the mind ; of the State and Life of Contemplation, and the vertues necessary thereto, such as abstinence from the actions of the body and from affections to it, which, saith he, raise the mind to the superessential Being ; and he very much disparages the active and political life in comparison with this, the end of one being only mens living according to nature ; but of the other Assimilation to God ; he that lives according to practical vertues, is only a good Man ; but he that lives the life of Contemplation is a God ; from whence we understand the Deiformity of the Mystical Divines being attainable by the life of Contemplation. The way laid down by him for purifying the Soul is this. 1. The Foundation of it, is, for the soul to know it self, i. e. to consider, that it is in a strange place and bound to a thing of another substance. 2. Recollection, or gathering it self up from the body to be free from the affections of it ;
in

in order to which he adviseth to deny the body in its appetites and pleasures; and to shew as little care of it and concernment for it as may be; by degrees to lessen *all sense both of pleasure, and pain*; and so to come at last to a freedom from the passions of the Body. Then he describes *the super-essential being*, and saith, *that it is neither great nor little, but above both; and is neither greatest nor least but above all; and that his presence is not Topical, but Assimilative; and that the only way for our souls to recover themselves is to bring them into themselves, by which means the True Being is present with them, and we become united to God.* Which union of the Soul with God, *Holstenius* thinks it very probable, that *Porphyrie* understood by the Book which he mentions in the life of *Plotinus*, called *ὁ ἱερός γάμος*, the *Sacred Nuptials*, because both *Plotinus* and he supposed this union to be wrought by the power of *Divine Love*, as well as the *Mystical Divines*; and *Porphyrie* saith, upon the reading of it, *some thought him mad, because there were several things spoken in it after a Mystical and Enthusiastical manner*; for which he was highly applauded by *Plotinus*. And *Porphyrie* was so much in his Favour, that he committed the ordering and publishing of

N. 36.

N. 37.

N. 41.

Descript.
Porphyr.
c. 9.

his Books entirely to his care; which no doubt he was the more willing to do, because by delivering these *Mystical notions* in such a Philosophical manner, he might hope to put a stop to the spreading of Christianity, especially among men of Contemplative minds. For it appears by S. *Augustin* that *Porphyrie* despised Christianity chiefly on the account of the *Incarnation of the Son of God*: which they thought to be bringing God down to the body, whereas their design was to elevate the Soul from the body to God.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.
l. 10. c. 29.

§. 14. The short account of *Plotinus* his hypothesis is this, That the soul of man being immersed in the body suffers very much by reason of its union with it, by which means it is drawn down to the affections of the body, and to a conversation with sensible things, and so becomes evil and miserable: that its good and happy condition lyes in being like to God, not in regard of understanding, but a state of quiescency; that the practice of the virtues of the active life is insufficient for assimilation to God; but in order to it, those which are properly intellectual are most necessary, whereby the soul draws it self off from the body. Thus for the soul to act by it self, is wisdom; introversion is temperance;

Plotin. Ennead. 1. l. 2.
c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

perance ; abstraction from matter, is fortitude ; to follow reason, is justice : that, by the practice of these, the soul purifies it self, i. e. casts off the things without it self, and so recovers its purity, by bringing those things into light again, which lay hid under the rubbish of sensible things before, so that the soul did not know them to be there ; but for the discovery of them, it was necessary for the soul to come near a greater Light than it self : and to bring the Images which are in it to the true Originals. The way of purifying the Soul he calls by the names of *Abstraction* and *Recollection* : which he elsewhere expresses, by awaking the soul out of sleep, wherein it was disturbed by sensible Images ; not as though the Soul had need of any other way of purifying but only restoring it to it self by taking away that load of matter which oppressed it, and then it naturally endeavours after the nearest union with the First Being : which he calls the *True Being*, and the *Supereessential Being*. And, he saith, when the soul endeavours after this Union, it must lay aside all sensible and intellectual Images of things, and make use only of the purest and supream part of the mind (or the fund of the Spirit) that God then is not to be considered under the Notion of Being,

*Ennead. 3.
l. 6. c. 5.*

*Ennead. 6.
l. 9. c. 3.*

- but as something above Being ; and that we are not either to affirm or deny any thing of him ; that, our contemplation of him is not by knowledge or any intellectual operation, but by a divine presence, which far exceeds any knowledge : for knowledge he
- c. 4. faith, hinders union : therefore we must go beyond knowledge, and be abstracted from
- c. 9. all other objects ; and be united to him only by the power of Divine Love, from whence follows a clearer light in the Soul ; and in
- c. 11. this state, saith he, there is not only a cessation of passion, but of reason and understanding too ; neither is the person, himself, *ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθείς καὶ ἐκστατικός*, like one in a rapture or an Ecstasie he enjoys God in that state of Quiescency as in a silent wilderness : which he calls, being in God ; and in other
- Ennead 5. places, seeing God in themselves, being the
l. 8. c. 10, 11. same with God, being one with God, and
Ennead. 1. which is the highest of all, being God :
l. 2. c. 5, 6. which is the perfect State of Deiformity.
- By this we see there is not one of the sublimest notions of *Mystical Divinity*, which hath not been borrowed from these *Philosophers*, who were the most dangerous enemies to Christianity. For although *Plotinus* doth not speak so openly against it, as *Porphyrus* did, who was his beloved Disciple and Confident ; yet he lets fall many insinuations

nuations against it, and particularly against the doctrine of the *resurrection of the Body* upon the account of this *Mystical Doctrine*; for, saith he, *the true awakening of the Soul, is an awakening from the body, and not a Resurrection with the body; for that change which is together with the body, is but passing from sleep to sleep, as it were from one bed to another; but the true awakening is from all bodies, which are contrary to the soul; because the nature of one is opposite to the other.*

*Ennead. 3.
l. 6. c. 6.*

§. 15. After these succeeded *Jamblichus*, who was *Porphyries* Disciple, and a great Friend of *Julian the Apostate*, and pursued the same *Mystical Notions*; For in his Book of the *Ægyptian Mysteries* (which he writ in answer to an Epistle of *Porphyries* to an *Ægyptian Priest*, and wherein *Proclus* saith, *that he writ like a man inspired*) he discourses at large concerning *Divine Ecstasies*, and *Visions* and *Inspirations*, in which he describes the Persons just after the *Mystical way*, as no longer leading a humane life, or having any operations of their senses or understanding, but their mind and soul is only in the *Divine power* and not their own; being acted and possessed wholly by it: afterwards, he sets

*Jambli h.
de Myst r.
Segm. 3.
c. 4, 5, &c.*

down several degrees and kinds of these, in some they have only participation, in others near communion, and in the highest of all, Union; in some of these, he saith, the body wholly rests, and sometimes breaks out into singing and all expressions of Joy: sometimes the body is raised up from the Ground, (as M. Teresa thought hers) sometimes it swells into a greater bulk and sometimes the contrary: then he layes down Rules to know divine Inspirations by, viz. by enquiring in what manner God appears, whether an appearance of fire come before him, whether he fills up and acts the whole soul, so that there is a cessation of all its own acts? For this he makes the main character of a Divine Inspiration, that the persons are wholly taken up and possessed by the Deity, from whence follows an ecstasie and alienation of the senses; but if either the soul acts, or the body moves, then, he saith, it may be a false inspiration. No man can express himself more emphatically concerning the excellency of Contemplative Prayer than Famblichus doth: this quickens the mind, enlargeth its capacity, opens the secrets of the Divinity, and fits it for conjunction and Union with God; and never leaves men till it hath carryed them to a state of Perfection; and

and by degrees doth so alter and change men, that it makes them put off humane nature, and bring them into such a state of Deiformity that they become Gods. The first degree of prayer, he saith, brings to a state of recollection and hath some divine contact which helps our knowledge ; the second carries the soul to a nearer communion with God, and excites the divine bounty to freer communications to it : but the third is the Seal of the ineffable Union which makes our mind and soul to rest in God as a Divine Port or Haven. And he concludes his book with saying, that this Union with God, is mans greatest perfection and the end of all Religion among the Egyptians, whole Mysteries his Design was to explain and vindicate. Many other passages might be produced out of him, concerning the knowing God by divine contact, and the insufficiency of any act of the mind for this ineffable union ; but these are enough to shew how well acquainted Jamblichus, and (if we believe him) the Egyptian Idolaters, were, with the profoundest secrets of Mystical Divinity.

Segm. 10.
c. 6.

Segm. 1. c. 3.
2. c. 13.

Suidas tells us, that after Porphyrie there was no one appear'd a more bitter enemy to Christianity than Proclus, yet no one a greater Friend to Mystical Divinity than he.

Suid. v.
Proclus.

Of

Marin. de
vit. Procli,
ante P. ocl.
Theolog.

Procl. Theo-
log. Plat.
l. 1. c. 3.

Of whom *Marinus* gives this character, towards the conclusion of his life, *that his Soul was so recollected and drawn into it self, that it seemed to be separated from the body while it remained in it.* In the beginning of his *Theology*, he distinguishes between that intellectual faculty in us whereby we are capable of understanding the nature and difference of intelligible Ideas, and that which he calls τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς νῆς καὶ (ὡς φασι) τὸ ἀνδρῶν, the summity, as the *Mysticks* speak, and pure fund of the spirit, which he saith, is alone capable of the Divine and Mystical Union, so he calls it, ἀποκρυφον ἔνωσιν. For, saith he, though there be many intellectual powers in us, yet it is by this only that we can be united to the Divinity, and be made partakers of it. For we cannot reach the Divine Being either by our senses, or by opinion, or by apprehension ; no nor yet by ratiocination, ὅτε νοήσει μὴ λόγῳ it remains therefore that if the Divine Nature can any ways be known by us, it must be by the essence of the Soul. For the soul being drawn into its own unity, and removing from it self the multiplicity of its powers, it ascends to the greatest height of true Contemplation. While the soul looks about on things below it, it sees nothing but shadows and images of things, when it comes to a state of

of *Introversion*, then it sees its own essence and operations of the understanding ; but when it searches deeper, then it finds the *Mind* within it self and the several Orders of real Beings ; when it goes yet farther into the most secret closet of the Soul, there it contemplates, as it were blindfold, the Divine Beings, and the first Ideas or Unities of Beings. And this, saith he, is the most excellent operation of the soul, in the rest or quiescency of its powers, to stretch it self towards the Divine nature, and dance as it were round it, and to raise up the whole Soul towards this Union with it ; and abstracting it self from all inferiour beings, to rest upon and be conjoynd with that ineffable and superessential Being. And by this means the soul comes to have the truest understanding of all things.

§. 16. Many other passages might be produced out of him to the same purpose ; but this comprehends in it so much of the very Marrow of Mystical Divinity, that *Carolus Hersentius* confesseth, either that *Proclus* borrowed from *Dionysius*, or *Dionysius* from *Proclus* ; but he is willing to believe that *Proclus* and the rest of the Modern Platonists did borrow those notions out of *Dionysius*. *Marsilius Ficinus* indeed

Carol. Hersent. Appar. ad Theolog. Mystic.
p. 43.

Marf. Ficin:
de Christian.
Relig. c. 22.

Said. in
Dionys.

indeed is of the same opinion; for being a skilful *Platonist*, he saw such an agreement of notions and expressions in *Dionysius* and the writings of *Plotinus*, *Jamblichus* and *Proclus*, that either they must have taken from him, or he from them; but for the honour of the *Platonick notions*, he believed the former. And *Suidas*, an Author of no great judgement saith, that some of the *Philosophers* and especially *Proclus* made use of his very expressions without any alteration, from whence it might be suspected that the elder *Philosophers* at Athens, had hid-den his works that they might seem to be the Authors of those sublime notions contained in them. A very likely story! why should *Proclus* take those things out of *Dionysius*, which he might have found as well in the Books of *Plotinus*, *Porphyrus*, or *Jamblichus*, whom he had a far greater esteem of, than of *Dionysius*; and quotes every one of them very frequently and with great Veneration, and mentions them together as a sort of *inspired Persons*, in the very beginning of his *Theology*? And *Proclus* hath nothing peculiar in him upon this subject; the very same notions were delivered by *Plotinus* an *Egyptian Philosopher*; and *Proclus* quotes him for the chief of them: viz. the twofold operations of the mind, the

one

one of it as the mind, viz. ratiocination; the other of it as drunk with the Divine Nectar (thence comes the Mysticks *Ebrietas Spiritualis*, of which *Rusbrochius* hath several Chapters, and which saith *Harphius* makes some sing and others cry, and others utter strange noises, as *Fr. Masseus* that cried *V.V.V.* and others tremble and quake, and others run over Mountains and Valleys like *Fr. Bernard*, and others dance, and lastly others ready to burst, like a Vessel filled with new wine) and that the Mind becomes Deified by its Union with God, which being the Fundamental principles of *Mystical Divinity*, *Proclus* doth acknowledge that he had them from *Plotinus*; and if we believe *Jamblichus*, they came from the ancient *Mystical Theology* of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

Pro l. Theol. Plat. c. 12. p. 36.

Rusbro' b. de Nupt. spirit. l. 2. c. 20, 21, 22.

Harp Theol. Myst. l. 2. part. 3; c. 41.

I expect that those who have not considered these things should be still ready to believe, that all these notions among these Philosophers were taken from some of the Christians at least, if not from this *Dionysius*. Which *Plotinus* his education under *Ammonius* at *Alexandria*, seems to make probable, where he continued 11. years; but whatever doctrine he heard from *Ammonius*, it is certain *Plotinus* his opinion as to these matters, together with his followers,

was

was derived from other *Oracles* than those of the *Sacred Scriptures* : For *Pfellus* in his *Commentary* on the *Chaldaick Oracles*, doth say, that *Plotinus*, *Jamblichus*, *Porphyrius* and *Proclus* did wholly approve of the *Chaldaick Theology* ; and by what remainders there are still extant of it, we may discover the Footsteps of these *Mystical* notions in it. If the *Chaldaick Oracles* were still extant, which were frequently quoted by these Philosophers, (and from them in a great measure the *Fragments* were preserved) we might more fully manifest these things ; yet as they are, they give us sufficient ground to draw the Fundamentals of this *Mystical Divinity* from thence. For they speak of *Gods being united to the Soul, by the Souls clasping God to her self* ; and that *not by any act of the understanding, but by the flower of the mind*, (the very phrase used by *Proclus*, and the same which the *Mysticks* call the *fund of the Spirit*,) of the *Souls being inebriated from God*, (which *Plotinus* calls, *being drunk with the divine Nectar*,) and *Pfellus* explains of *divine illuminations and Ecstasies* : of *abstraction from the body*, and *extending the mind upwards, and hastening to the Divine Light and the Beams of the Father* ; with several other passages to the same

*Pfell. in
Orac. Chald.
p. 120.*

*Oracul.
Chaldaic.
ed. Obsopæi
p. 19, 20.*

*Pfell. in
Orac. Chald.
p. 85, 90.
Nicoph.
Gregor in
Synes. de
inson. p. 383.*

same purpose. But lest any should say, that these *Chaldaick Oracles* were framed by some Christians at first in *Greek*, (as it is supposed the *Sibylline* were) *Joh. Picus* Joh. Pic. Mirand ep. Marsil. Fic. p. 249. *Mirandula* saith, he had an entire copy of them in the *Chaldee Language*, with a *Chaldee Paraphrase* upon them, which he valued as a great *Treasure*. But in truth all these notions both among the *Chaldeans* and the *Platonick Philosophers* are built upon a very ancient *hypothesis*, but very different from that of *Christianity*; which *hypothesis* being granted, this *Mystical Divinity* appears with some face of Reason, and colour of probability; which I suppose will not be consented to by Mr. *Cr.* or any of the *Friends to Mystical Divinity*: Which was this, that the Souls of men did exist in another world long before they came into the body; that in their descent to the body they had an *Æthereal* vehicle joyned to them; which upon the conjunction of the soul and body became the means of communication between them, and takes up its chief seat in the brain, which is the same which we call the *Imagination*; that the soul being in this state is apt to be much inveigled with kindness to the body, and so forget its return home; that the body is capable of doing the

the soul mischief no other way, being it self under the power of Fate, than as it draws it downwards; that the mind being the upper part of the soul is alwayes acting, but we know not its operations but only by the impressions they make upon the Phansie; that the mind hath the true Ideas of things within it self; but we are deceived by the representations conveyed by our imagination; and therefore our ratiocination is very short and uncertain; that our only way of recovering our souls, is by drawing them off from the body, and retiring into themselves; and that upon this, the mind hath the divine Being so nearly conjoynd to it, that it passeth into a divine nature, and recovers its former state, when it parts from the body. But because it is not to return alone without the Æthereal vehicle it brought with it, therefore the *Chaldeans* & *Egyptians* had several sacred and symbolical Rites for the purifying of the *vehicle*, as they called it; which they made necessary for this end: and with them *Jamblichus* joyns, but *Porphyrus* thought them not necessary, but that *Philosophy* and *meer contemplation* would purifie enough without it. This is the true account of their *Hypothesis*, as may be fully seen in *Hierocles* and *Synesius*, without going farther; and was the

*Hierocl. in
a. r. c. a. m.
Pythag.
Synes. de
insomn. p.
136, &c.*

the first Foundation of Mystical Divinity; which I will not deny to be well enough accommodated to it; but it is as remote from Christianity, as the *hypothesis* itself is.

But the counterfeit *Dionysius* finding the notions sublime, and having found out expressions, as he thought lofty enough to express them; and either being not wholly brought off from the Philosophy then in request, or hoping by this means to ensnare the Philosophers, when they found their sentiments entertained among the Christians, makes it his business to patch together the sublimest notions of the modern Platonists, and to make them pass for good Christian Doctrine. And I think it may be made appear that there is not one notion thought peculiar to this counterfeit *Dionysius* which we cannot trace the footsteps of in these *writers*; which few of the Christians ever looked into, because of their known opposition to Christianity, and therefore he had no more to do than only to fit them to the Christian doctrine, and they might easily pass for new and sublime discoveries of his own. Not only the Principles of *Mystical Theology*, but the very nine *Orders* of his *Celestial Hierarchy* are to be seen in
K *Jamblichus*;

*Jamblich.
de Myſter.
Segm. 2.
c. 3.
Procl. in
Timæum
Platon.
p. 47.*

Jamblickus, and are reckoned up by *Scutellius* in the margin of his Translation : and *Archangels* are not only mentioned frequently by him, but *Proclus* upon the *Timæus* ſaith that *Porphyrie* reckons them among the *Celestial Orders* ; which being denied by *Jamblichus* to have been ever mentioned by *Plato*, and yet reckoned up by himſelf, may be ſuppoſed to be drawn either from the *Chaldean* or *Egyptian Theology* ; but that is not my buſineſs to ſearch into. His book of the *Divine names*, ſeems to have had its foundation as well as Title in a Book written by *Porphyrie* with the ſame Title, as *Suidas* himſelf confeſſes, who reckons that as *the firſt of his books* : but that being loſt, we have only that reaſon for our conjecture, becauſe we find him ſo apparently guilty in his *Myſtical Theology* ; To which he hath added nothing but a more affected ſtyle, and profound Non-ſenſe : For it is not enough for him, to joyn *Light* and *darkneſs* together ; but that *darkneſs* muſt be *overſhining*, and the *Rays* of it muſt be *ſupereſſential* ; he is not content, to expreſs nothing almoſt without *Metaphors*, but ſtretches them to *Hyperbole's*, and when he hath by this means ſet two things as far from each other as may be, then he claps them together, as
if

if one should say, the *most glorious Sunshine* of *Egyptian darkness*.

§. 17. But if this *Dionysius* were the Person he pretends to be, *viz.* the *Areopagite*, then we might have some reason to think that the *Platonick Philosophers* had taken their notions out of him; and yet it would be very improbable that such a Writer should have been so well known among the *Platonists*, that was utterly unknown among the *Christians*. Did *Dionysius* leave his Works to the *Philosophers* at *Athens*, or to the *Christians*? If they were only among the *Philosophers*, how came they out of their hands at last? if they had borrowed so much out of them, they would have done as they report *Aristotle* did with his *Creditors* (I mean the *ancient Philosophers*) *viz.* *suppressed* them, when they had gotten as much from them as they could? And it were an easie matter to have done it, since they were writings never mentioned in those first Ages by *Christians*. So *Bellarmin* himself grants, (after the consideration of all the Testimonies produced by *Baronius* and many others) *that these books were not known in the five first Centuries*. Which argument together with other circumstances have made some of the

*Bellarmin. de
Script. Ec-
cles. in Di-
onys.*

most learned Persons of the Roman Church that have been of late, to reject this Author as supposititious ; for notwithstanding all the pleas that have been made for him by *Baronius, Del-Rio, Halloix, Lessius, De Chaumont, Lansselius* and others ; his Authority is very much suspected by *Petavius, Sirmondus*, and *Labbe*, all *Jesuits* ; but rejected by *Launoy, Godeau, Habertus*, and *Morinus*, who proves at large that these *Books* were never produced till the conference with *Hypatius* A. D. 532. and then they were brought forth by the *Severian* heretics, and rejected by *Hypatius*, because no Testimony was brought out of them, by former Ecclesiastical Writers, when there was sufficient occasion if they had been then extant. And in truth, it seems most probable, that they came out of the *School of Apollinaris*, and so might well be produced first by the *Severians* ; for it is not only observed by *Petavius*, that the heresie of *Apollinaris* came out of the *Platonick School* ; but (if I be not much mistaken) from that very notion of *Plotinus* of the difference of the mind and Soul (for as appears by *Epiphanius, Apollinaris* granted, that *Christ* had the Soul but not the mind of man, and *Nemesius* expressly charges *Apollinaris* with following the doctrine of *Plotinus*) by which
it

Petav. in
Ind. ad
Tom. de
dogm. Theol.
Sirmond. de
2. Dionys.
c. 8.
Labbe de
Script. Ec-
cles.
Launoy Dis-
cuss. discuss.
c. 16.
Godeau hist.
Eglis l. 1.
A. D. 99.
p. 125.
Habert. ob-
serv. 1. in
Rit. Ordin.
Græc.
Morinus de
Ordin. Sacr.
p. 2. c. 2. n. 8.
Petav. de
Incarn. l. 4.
c. 6. n. 6.
l. 14. c. 13.
n. 2.

it is plain that *Apollinaris* was sufficiently conversant in these writings to borrow his notions from thence, and he was more than ordinarily remarkable for his conversation with *Philosophers*; but besides this we find his *School* particularly charged with this way of Forging Ecclesiastical Writers, as some pieces of *Athanasius* and *Greg. Thaumaturgus*, and an Epistle of *Pope Julius* and others. To which, another circumstance may be added, which shews the greater probability of it, viz. that among the Disciples of *Apollinaris*, there were both a *Dionysius* and *Timotheus*; a *Dionysius* to whom the counterfeit epistle of *Julius* was directed; and a *Timotheus* mentioned together with *Apollinaris* as his Disciple by *Damasus*, by *Gennadius*, and by *S. Augustin*, and others, so that if *Apollinaris* himself were not the *Author* of them, yet his disciple *Dionysius* might write them to his fellow-disciple *Timotheus*; and the names hitting so luckily, they might the easier pass under the more venerable names of the Ancient *Dionysius* and *Timothy*. But this I only propose as a conjecture, it being sufficient to my purpose to have given such plain evidence, that the *Fundamentals* of mystical Theology, were first taken out of those *Philosophers* who were the greatest enemies to *Christianity*.

Leont. de Sectis act.
8.
Phot. Cod.
230.
Faund. l. i.
p. 40.
Lib rat. in Brev. c. 10.

Theodor. hist. Eccl.
l. 5. c. 18.
Gennad. Catalog. c. 2.
August. de heres. c. 90.
Auct. frag. c. Severi.
apud Canis. Anti. Lect.
To 4 p. 236.

ty, and who seemed to set up this, in opposition to it, as a *more sublime way to perfection*.

It were an easie matter after this, to shew how this *Mystical Divinity* by the Authority of these counterfeit writings came into reputation, in the *Western Church*, after the translation of them by *Johannes Erigena* and *Anastasius*; what Authority it gained among some of the *Schoolmen* by its agreeableness with the doctrine of some *Arabian Philosophers* about the *Intellectus Agens*; and other principles of *Enthusiasm* among them; how it came into *Germany* among the *Monks* there, and what pretences to *Visions* and *Revelations* came in upon it; what favour it hath received from the *Jesuitical Order*, (*Maximilian Sandeus* having published a Discourse on purpose to prove that from the very Foundation of their Order, the *Jesuits* have been the greatest admirers of and pretenders to *Mystical Divinity*,) but I must stop; lest *Mr. Cressy* should tell me, that I take *another opportunity to empty my voluminous store of Collections*; whereas all the pains I have taken in this matter hath been to give him full satisfaction that I have read and considered what the *Author of the Roman Churches Devotions vindicated*, hath said upon this argument, which he so *humbly besecches the Person of Honour*

Max. Sand.
F. bilum.
Societ. Jesu
ob Theolog.
Mystic. Co-
lor. A. D.
1640.

nour to peruse, hoping by that means he would come to a better opinion of Sancta Sophia, and *Mystical Divinity*, and Mr. Cressy: and I dare leave any Person of Honour and Understanding, to judge, whether notwithstanding what he hath said for it Mr. Cr. had reason to account, this *Mystical Divinity*, the perfection of Christian Prayer and Devotion.

CHAP. III.

Of the Monastick Orders, in the Roman Church, and particularly of the Benedictin.

§. I. **T**He second thing to which the charge of *Fanaticism* relates, is the *Foundation of their Religious Orders in the Roman Church, which I said were first instituted among them by Enthusiastick Persons, upon the credit of their Visions and Revelations.* For which I instanced, in all their most celebrated *Orders, viz. the Benedictins, Carthusians, Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits;* and gave a particular account of this, from the authentick Histories among themselves of the several *Founders* of them: and besides, I produced the *Testimony of Bellarmin, that their Religious Orders were instituted by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost.* In answer to this, Mr. Cressy (declining the dispute, about the personal qualities of the *Founders of Religious Orders;*) saith, *the*
most

most commodious way to make a true judgement of them will be to examin their Fruits. *Fanaticism.* p. 21.

For by their Fruits, saith our Saviour, they will be known. Therefore to determine, whether it was by Gods inspiration, that they instituted their Respective Orders, he proposes these two wayes, 1. To examin their several Rules, according to which their Disciples oblige themselves to conform their lives and actions. 2. whether God hath acknowledged them for his servants by making use of them to the great benefit of his Church and dilation of his honour. By these wayes he desires it may be judged whether there were not sufficient ground for Bellarmin to say, that such Orders were instituted by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and so do I. Which cannot be done without a particular enquiry into the Rules and history of their several Religious Orders, that by them we may see what evidence appears of any Divine Inspiration.

And according to Mr. Cressy's particular zeal and concernment for the *Benedictin* Order, I begin with that : The Person of Honour having given that Character of S. Benedict " that he believed him to have been a " devout man in a dark time, according to his " talent of understanding; but that he might " have been deluded by the effects of a " distempered

*Animad-
vers. p. 28.*

- P. 39. “ distempered Fancy, as many well mean-
 “ ing men have been ; and that he could
 “ discern nothing like Divine Inspiration in
 “ his Rule ; but presently met with an im-
 P. 42. “ pertinent allegation of Scripture *ch. 2.* ap-
 “ plying that place, *Rom. 8. crying Abba*
 “ *Father*, to the person of the *Abbot* as re-
 “ presenting Christ ; he proceeds farther,
 “ to say, that neither the reading of his Rule,
 “ nor any of the rest, will oblige any man
 “ to be of *Bellarmins* opinion, that those
 “ *Orders* were instituted by the inspiration
 “ of the *Holy Ghost* ; and because of Mr.
 “ *Cressy*’s great rage against me upon this
 “ subject of *Visions* and *Revelations*, he de-
 P. 53, 54. “ sires to know his opinion particularly
 “ concerning the *Revelation* of *S. Francis*
 “ on the Mount *Palombo* concerning the li-
 “ teral observation of his *Rule* without any
 “ *Gloss* ; which is Printed with his *Rule*,
 “ and with the *Popes Bulls*, and the *Testimony*
 “ of *S. Bonaventure*. Mr. *Cressy* in answer
 to this, takes no manner of notice of *S.*
Francis his *Rule*, or *Revelation* ; but leaves
 that to shift for it self ; but something he
 must say for the honour of *S. Benedict*, and
 it all amounts to as little as could be wish-
 ed. For he doth not produce any one
 thing, to make it appear more probable that
S. Benedict writ his *Rule* by *divine Inspira-*
tion,

tion, which had been indeed to his purpose ; but only answers to the place of *Scripture* mentioned *Ch. 2.* of his *Rule* ; and then brings several testimonies of the great *reputation the Benedictin Rule hath been in* *Existle A. 6.
log. n. 29.
to n. 35.*
among Popes, and Saints and Councils & Kings & Princes in after ages. And what of all this? Must this Rule therefore be written by divine Inspiration? Is it not possible for men to think them good Rules, without believing them to have been inspired? Suppose this were approved, as the best *Monastick Rule* in these Western parts, by Popes, and Princes and Councils, doth it hence follow that it was immediately endited by the Spirit of God? If it were, it must be of equal authority with the *Bible* ; if it were not, the charge remains good, that it was only an Enthusiastical pretence to Inspiration.

§. 2. But to take off the force of all that Mr. *Cressy* saith in behalf of the *Benedictin Rule*, and to make good the first charge ; (although Mr. *Cr.* hath evidently declined the proof of the *Affirmative* which lay upon him) I shall give these Reasons to prove that this *Rule* was never written by *divine Inspiration*. 1. Because the main parts of it were borrowed out of former Rules. 2. Because what is of S. *Benedict's* own, hath

hath manifest signs of humane weakness ; particularly misapplication of Scripture, mentioned by the *Person* of *Honour*. 3. Because it was never received in the Roman Church as written by divine Inspiration.

1. Because the main parts of it were borrowed out of *former Rules*. Where we can with so much ease and certainty, trace the footsteps of humane industry in any writing, it is very unreasonable to attribute it to divine inspiration: And there is not one considerable part in the *Benedictin Rule*, which we cannot even at this distance of time shew from whence it was taken. *Hugo Menardus* a French *Benedictin* hath published the *Concordia Regularum* written by *Benedict Abbot of Aniane*, (not by the English *Benedict*, as *Reynerus* would have it) who was appointed by *Ludovicus Pius* to bring all the Monasteries within his Empire to one uniform Rule, (which it seems they had not before) he therefore in pursuit of this design made it his business to search all the former *Rules*, which having done, he published them together ; with this Preface to them ; *that sometimes he met with the very same words, at other times with the same sense which was in the Benedictin Rule ;* and a little after he saith expressly, *that S. Benedict took his Rule from*

Hugo Menard. concord. Regularum, p. 52. Aitol. Benedict. p. 190.

from those who were before, and gathered it as one handful out of many: and *Menardus* there confesseth, that it was taken out of the *Rules* of *Pachomius*, *S. Basil*, *Cassian* and others, who lived before him; which will very easily appear to any one who will take the pains to compare them. The *Benedictin* Rule begins with an account of the several sorts of *Monks*, viz. the *Cœnobitæ* who lived together under a Rule or Abbot; the *Eremitæ* who lived by themselves in the Desert; the *Sarabaitæ*, who lived two or three together without any certain Rule or Governour; and the *Wandering Monks*, who never remained in any certain place. To the very same purpose *Pianmon* the *Egyptian Anchoret* in *Cassian* speaks, and reckons up the several kinds of *Monks* with the very same descriptions of the three first, and *Alardus Gazæus* saith, the fourth sort in *Cassian*, is the same with the fourth in *S. Benedict*. The 12. degrees of humility mentioned in the *Benedictin* Rule are, (except the two last, and the pleasant passage of *Jacobs* ladder, the two sides whereof he makes to be the Soul and Body,) to be found in *Cassian*, and some of them as *Gazæus* confesseth, in the very same words, but there more properly called *signes*. But there are two things especially Mr. *Cr.* seems to admire the *Benedictin*

Regul. Benedict. c. 1.

Cassian. Col. lat. 18. c. 4, 7, 8.

Gazæ. not. in Cassian. col. 18. c. 8.

Cassian. de institut. renunciant. l. 4. c. 39.

Faraticism.
P. 23.

Regul. Bened. c. 8.

Caram. Theolog. Regularis. n.
1102.

Cassian. de noct. orat.
l. 2. c. 13.
l. 3. c. 5.
Cassian. Col-lat. 10. c. 10.
Menard.
not. in *Concord. Reg.*
p. 341.

Strabo de rebus Eccl. c. 23.
Cassian. de noct. orat.
l. 2. c. 5, 6.

Benedictin Rule for, viz. the ordering the Ecclesiastical office, and the decent assignation of duties proper to all offices both of superiours and inferiours; by these two therefore, let us judge whether *S. Benedict* deserved any other admiration than that of a bare Collector. The first thing remarkable in his Ecclesiastical Office, is, that after the nocturnal office the Monks should not go to sleep again, but spend that time between that and Mattins in reading and getting by heart the Psalter and Lessons; which passage the Commentators upon the *Benedictin Rule* are extreemly puzzled with, as may be seen in *Caramuel*; but if they would have looked into the old *Egyptian Rules* in *Cassian*, they might have easily understood both the meaning and the design of it. *Abbot Isaac* in *Cassian* highly commends the use of that *Versicle* upon every occasion, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende; Domine ad adjuvandum me festina*; from hence *S. Benedict* took it to begin the divine office; *Menardus* thinks, that the application of it to the office, was the invention of *S. Benedict*; (surely not such a one which could not proceed, but from divine inspiration) and yet *Walafridus Strabo* saith, the Egyptians did begin their Canonical hours with it. The *Egyptian Monks*, as *Cassian* relates, had a great

great dispute among them, what *number of Psalms* was to be used in the *daily Office*, some were for 50. some for 60. and some for more, till an Angel appeared in the midst of them, and repeated twelve Psalms, upon which the whole Senate of the Fathers, understanding this number to be by divine inspiration, made a Canon, *that this number should be constantly observed*, both at *Vespers* and in the *nocturnal Office*; from hence S. *Benedict*, as both *Menardus* and *Gazæus* confess, took the number of 12. *Psalms* for the *nocturnal Office*; but he allowed a much less number, *viz.* four or five for *Vespers*. Which I cannot but wonder at, since the Angel did appoint both alike: and *Palladius* saith expressly, *that the Angel revealed it to Pachomius that 12. Psalms should be used at Vespers.* Had S. *Benedict* a Revelation against this? If not, surely he was bound to follow the former; if he had, we have great reason to question both. It is a poor excuse the *Benedictins* use to bring their Founder off, *viz.* *that he added the Completorium after Vespers, and therefore shortened the service*; for, what Authority had he to make new alterations, when the order was settled by a general consent of the *Egyptian Fathers*, and that upon the appearance of an *Angel*? But it seems

Reg. Bened.
c. 10. c. 18.

Pallad. hist.
Laus. de
Tabenneft-
otis.

Synod. Turon.
2. c. 18.

Pallad. ib.

Cassian. de
diurn. orat.
l. 3. c. 2.

seems the *Council at Tours*, rather adhered to the *Egyptian Revelation* than *S. Benedicts*; for they appoint 12. *Psalms at Vespers*, which they say was first learnt by the appearance of an *Angel*. It seems very strange to me that *S. Benedict* who so punctually followed the *Egyptian customs* in other things, should presume to alter them in that which they pretended to have more immediately from divine Revelation; as it happened not only in this, but in the number of *Canonical hours*, for *Palladius* saith, that the *Tabennesian Monks* had it from an *Angel*, that they were to observe but three *Canonical hours*, viz. the *nocturnal*, *Vespers*, and *Nones*, all the rest of the time to be spent in work and secret *Prayers*. But *Cassian* saith, that the *Egyptian Monks* had but two *Canonical hours* wherein they met to celebrate the divine office, viz. their *nocturnal Vigils* and *Vespers*; unless it were on the *Saturday*, or *Sunday*; on both which dayes they met for the holy communion at the third hour of the day; (for not only the *Egyptian Monks*, but most of the *Eastern Christians* kept both those dayes holy for the solemn performance of divine offices, which was the reason of their difference with the *Western Church* about the *Saturday Fast*); but the *Monks of Palestin* and

Me-

Mesopotamia and of the *whole Orient*, added more hours for the *Diurnal Office*, and *Cassian* adds that in his time, in the *Monastery of Bethlehem* they added another hour after *Mattins*, since called the *Prime*, to keep the *Monks* from laziness; and withall by this means they might say with *David*, *Seven times a day will I praise thee*; which he saith may be accommodated to this, although it might have a mystical, i. e. faith *Gazeus*, a figurative meaning, for, often; but the other, *Cassian* saith, was the true reason of appointing it; and he grants, that the most antient *Eastern Monasteries* would not admit of that alteration. But *S. Benedict* makes no doubt, that was the *psalmists* meaning, and therefore appoints the seven Canonical hours agreeable to the *Monks of Bethlehem*, and because it is said *Septies in die*, he will have them all to be parts of the *diurnal office*; for he had another place for the nocturnal, *mediâ nocte surgebam*: But was it by Revelation that he knew the former place was not understood of a natural day? By these two instances we see, that *S. Benedict* did most unhappily differ from the *Egyptian Monks* in those things, which they pretended the most to have from divine Revelation: but in other things he followed their example:

C. 3.

C. 4.

Regul. Benedict. c. 16.

Regul. Be-
ned. c. 20.

Menard. in
Concord.
Regul. p.
104.

Cassian. de
nobt. orat.
l. 2. c. 7, 8.
c. 10, 11.

as *Menardus* saith he did in the short ejaculatory prayers at the end of every Psalm instead of the *Gloria Patri*; but he adds, that place in the Rule is thought more difficult, because the practice of them is disused, either through laziness, or the multiplicity and length of their offices; but he saith, *S. Benedict* observed this custome in the making of his Rule, that those things which were more short in the former writers, especially in *Cassian*, he enlarged, as about the Abbot, the *Præpositus*, the *Decani*, &c. but what were more diffuse in them he contracted, as about these short prayers at the end of the Psalms. For *Cassian* expressly saith that the *Gloria Patri* was used in the East at the end of the *Antiphona*, and not at the end of every Psalm; but then both there, and in *Egypt* they had very short prayers; of which *Menardus* understands that clause of the *Benedictin* Rule about short prayers; but I rather think it is to be understood of the concluding prayer. For *Cassian* mentions only two sorts of common prayers used by the *Egyptian Monks* in their divine offices; viz. the short mental prayers made at the end of every Psalm; and at every solemn stop in the reading of them, of which it was usual to make two or three on purpose in a long Psalm; and the

the *Collect* at the end (so called because then they did *orationem colligere* as *Cassian* speaks) which being pronounced either by Priest, or Abbot, or Prior, he giving the sign, they all did immediately arise from prayers together; and so the *Benedictin Rule* expresses it, & *facto signo à Priore, omnes pariter surgant*; by which it seems most probable that the *Rule* is to be understood of the short concluding *Collect*. And it is observable, that the *Benedictin Office* consists almost wholly of *Psalms*, *Antiphona's*, *Hymns*, and a few *Lessons*; very little care being taken about *Prayers*, for the *Litania* mentioned c. 13. 17. was only the *Kyrie eleeson*; only S. *Benedict* appoints the *Prior* to say at *Mattins* and *Vespers* the *Lords prayer* aloud, for which he gives this very good reason, *because the Monks were so apt to quarrel (propter scandalorum spinas quæ oriri solent in Monasterio) that it was fit they should all say together, dimitte nobis sicut & nos dimittimus*; but at other hours it was sufficient to say it to themselves, only the *Prior* was to lift up his voice, & *ne nos inducas, &c.* and all the rest to answer, *sed libera nos à malo*. And what is there now in the *Benedictin Office* which looks like divine inspiration? What is there, that a man who had never

Reg. Bened.
c. 13.

pretended to Visions and Revelations could not have done, by the help of *Cassian*, and a very little *Mother-wit*? Nay, what is there that was his own? Was it the adding the *Completorium*? so some say, but others shew plainly he had that from the *Rule* of *S. Basil*: was it, the first adding *Te Deum* to the *Mattins*? or the placing the *Antiphona's* between the *Psalms*, whereas the *Egyptians* had them before them? These are things insisted on, and gloried in, as the proper inventions of *S. Benedict*; great things I confess; but such as I hope meer human wit may reach to without divine inspiration. But beyond all these the *Benedictins* say, *the order of Reading the Psalter was his own*: very well: and was this it which came to him by inspiration? when himself saith, *that if his disposition of the Psalms doth not please, they may make use of another*, so they hold to the main point, viz. *going through the Psalter once a week*; which I perceive he laid great weight upon, but yet he never pretends to have had it by divine Inspiration. For he seems by his *Rule* to have been more humble and modest, and I am thereby enclined to believe those stories of his *Visions* and *Revelations* to have been made by some idle Monks after his death, who hoped by this means

*S. Basil. in-
ter. 37.*

*Gabr. B-
relia. Meno-
log. Bened.
l. 3.*

*Hugo Me-
nard. Con-
cord. Reg.
p. 355.*

c. 18.

means to recommend their *Order* more effectually to the World ; especially, after they had imposed upon the credulity of a well-meaning Pope, and made him their instrument to publish them to the World.

§. 3. But if the pretence of *Divine Inspiration* must be submitted to in these Directors of *Religious Orders* ; why might not one serve for them all ? why not that, which was more ancient than any of these pretences in the Roman Church, *viz.* that of S. *Pachomius* ? For, not only *Palladius*, and *Sozomen*, and *Nicephorus* and others among the *Greeks* do affirm that he received the *Monastick Rules* in a Table of Brass from an Angel, but *Gennadius*, *Vincentius*, and others among the *Latins*, and which is far more, the *Roman Martyrologie* confesses it, and *Rosweyd* from thence calls him a *second Moses*. Who could imagine otherwise, after such acknowledgements as these, than to have seen *Pachomius* his Table in as much veneration among the *Monks*, as those of *Moses* were among the *People of Israel* ? But no such matter ; although the latter *Monks* love to practise by some of his Rules, yet it would not cover their *hypocrisie* enough, to pretend to live by them. For the first of them is, to give the

Pallad. hist.
Laus de
Tabennens.
Sozom. l. 3.
c. 14.
Nicph l. 9.
c. 14.
Gerard. de
Script.
Eccl. in
Pachom.
Vincent.
Spec. l. 18.
c. 82.
Martyrolog.
Rom. Maii
14
Rosweyd.
not. in vit.
Pat. p. 141.

Monks free liberty to eat or drink, or work or fast as they pleased ; only they that eat most were to do most work, and they that fast, to have less imposed upon them. It is

Cassian. l. 4.

c. 1.

Hieron. ad

Eustoch.

v. Baron. in

Martyrol.

Ram. 14.

Maii. &

To. 5. An.

404.

Gazæ. in

Hier.

præf. ad

Reg. Pach.

Menard.

præf. p. 54.

to no purpose to mention the rest of his Rules, since no sort of Monks except the *Tabennesians*, who increased to several thousands, thought themselves obliged to observe them ; and yet all Authors that I have met with of the Roman Church, that mention this Rule of *Pachomius*, do allow it to have been received from an *Angel*. What do they mean by these things ? can they have better rules than what an *Angel* from *Heaven* hath given ? or do they think the *Angel* only intended them for the *Monks* of *Tabennesus* ? The *Angel*, as *Sozomen* saith, appeared on purpose to *Pachomius* in his cave to draw him out from his retirement, and commanded him to gather *Monks* and to take that brass Table for their Rule ? Could any thing be more solemn than this ? But, if after such confessions, they think it lawful not to believe the truth of this story ; I hope we have much more reason to question the pretence to Inspiration either in *S. Benedict*, *S. Francis*, or *Ignatius Loyola*. For this is averred by much more credible Authors, and received by the consent of both *Eastern* and *Western* historians, and

and the *Roman Church* allows it in her *Martyrology* : And yet, after all this, if there be no reason to believe it, what becomes of the credit of all the *Visions* and *Revelations* of the *Egyptian Monks*, which are not near so well attested as this is ? And if there be any reason to believe it, how comes that rule not to be universally embraced ? do they think *S. Benedict*, or *S. Francis*, or *Ignatius* wiser than an *Angel* from Heaven ? Nay, how came so many other Rules to be received in *Egypt* after this rule of *Pachomius* was known ? as the Rule translated by *S. Hierome* composed by *Pachomius*, *Theodorus*, and *Orsiesius* ; which is said likewise to be received from an *Angel* ; which *Gazæus* would have to be only an enlargement of the former ; but they were bold men that durst mend the defects of an *Angel* ; another Rule of *Orsiesius*, out of which *Benedictus* of *Anian* hath taken several passages ; the Rules of the two *Macarii* both famous *Egyptian Monks*, and of *Serapion* and *Paphnutius* ; the fragments of which are extant in the *Concordia Regularum*. What do all these things mean ? But it seems the pretence of Inspiration among these *Founders of Religious Orders*, is just contrary to what the *Apostle* saith of *Miracles*, for this is not for those that believe not, but for those that believe.

*Gazæ. in
Regul. Pa-
chom.*

Epistle A-
pologet.
p. 35.

Reg. Bened.

c. 1.

c. 2.

c. 22.

c. 39.

c. 40.

§. 4. But to return to the *Rule* of S. *Benedict*; the other thing Mr. *Cressy* magnifies it for, is, *the Rules of Government and Discipline*; which, he saith, are so excellent that *Cosmo de Medicis* collected instructions from thence for the Government of his People. Great men love to be singular; and take a pride in seeming to find that which no body else can. I dare say, if it be true, he was the only Prince in the World ever learnt to govern his People by *Monastick Rules*. This is so great a discovery, that it is pitty we have no more of it; for who can tell what *maximes* of Policy might be drawn from thence by a subtle head? What use the chapter of the choice of the *Abbot* might be of in choosing *Ministers of State*, or it may be, the *Officers of an Army*? And what influence it might have upon a Prince to do nothing without the advice of his wise Council, because the *Abbot* was to call the *Monks* together in all matters of importance? The *Monks* lying in their cloaths all night, girt up, and the measure of their wine, and the pound of bread a day, and the two *Messes* for all the *Monks*, are seasonable Items for *Souldiers*: The burning of the Candle all night in the *Dortor*, a good *Memento* for *Centinels*:

Centinels : The Monks laying aside their Knives when they sleep, a Caveat against Self-murder : Every Monk's being obliged to be Cook in his turn, affords that useful instruction, that no man is born only for himself ; but that every man ought to serve his Countrey : The Abbots care in looking to the Utensils and Habits, to take an account of them and to trust them in safe hands, will easily put a Prince in mind of looking after his Revenues. But I am afraid so subtle a Prince as Cosmo de Medicis, would like no chapter so well, as that which saith, the Monks are to have no propriety in any thing ; no, not so much as in their own wills. And I consents that would be the very height of Policy, for a Prince to get away the very wills of his Subjects from them. I am a little to seek what instructions he could gather from the Monks Cowles, and Scapular, and Boots, and Breeches when they travel, which are to be safely delivered back at their return ; with several other useful Rules for the choice of the Cellerar, Porter, and such Officers of State ; but although these things are above my reach ; yet who knows what use so wise a Prince as Cosmo de Medicis might make of them ? nay, who can tell whether Machiavil himself did not take his Politicks out of the Benediction

c. 22.

c. 35.

c. 32.

c. 33.

c. 55.

nedictin Rules ? I see Mr. Cressy himself is grown a *Politician* by being a *Benedictin* ; for if he could perswade men to believe the *Benedictin Rule* to be so useful for governing of people, it were the only way to make *Persons of Honour* to love their *Rules*, and to bring *Monks* to the *Council Table*.

But to leave this pleasant passage, and to return to what is more grave and serious : there is not any thing of moment in the *Benedictin Rule* about the *Government* or *Discipline* of the *Monastery*, which is not likewise taken out of former *Rules* : as will appear about the *Præpositus* or *Prior*, if we compare it with what the *Oriental Rule*, and the *Rules* of *Pachomius*, and *Orsiesus* do say upon the same subject : the choice of the *Decani* out of *Cassian*, and the *Regula Orientalis* ; about *excommunication* of the *refractory*, from the *Rules* of *Pachomius*, *S. Basil*, and the *Oriental* and *Cassian* and *Macarius* : about the *Cellerar* from *S. Basil*, and the *Oriental rule* : about the *Utensils*, out of the *Regula Patrum*, *Pachomius*, and *S. Basil* ; about having all things in common, out of *Orsiesus*, *Pachomius*, *S. Basil*, and others ; about serving their turns for a week in the *Kitchen*, out of *Cassian* ; about the *Infirmaries*, out of *Pachomius* and *S. Basil* ; about the *weekly Reader* while they sit at *Table* out of

Reg. Bened.
c. 65.

c. 21.

c. 23.

c. 31.

c. 32.

c. 33.

c. 35.

c. 36.

c. 38.

of *Cassian* ; and the *silence to be used at meals*, out of *him* and the *Oriental Rule*, and *Pachomius*. It would be too tedious to insist upon the rest, about *their work*, *hospitality*, *gifts*, *artificers*, *travellers*, *novices*, *garments*, nay the very *Porters* ; but whosoever will take the pains to compare the *Benedictin Rule* with the former, as to all these, will easily be convinced, that there needed no *divine Inspiration* for the Writing of his Rule : unless the *Apostles* wanted as much the assistance of the *Holy Ghost* to gather up the fragments and put them into a basket, as when they were to preach on the day of *Pentecost*.

§. 5. But although this takes off from the Divinity of their Rule, doth it not add as much to it another way, by shewing the greater antiquity of it ; in that it was taken out of the *Eastern and Egyptian Rules* ? I do not deny, that the *Monastick State* came into the *western parts* out of the *East*, and began much later, and was entertained much colder a long time here, than it was there. For after that *Antony the Eremite* had gained a mighty reputation by the severity and solitariness of his life, not only with the *Emperour Constantine*, but with the *Governours of Provinces*, it is hardly conceivable

Sozom. l. 1.
c. 13.

conceivable what numbers, from all parts, the *Novelty* and *Fame* of this way, drew to be his disciples ; and how many were encouraged by his example to set up this new way of *Christian Philosophy*, as the *Greeks* call it ; which although it were advanced with a contempt of humane learning, yet the pretence of greater severity of life, and a more easie way of subduing the passions of humane nature by withdrawing the occasions of them, made many understanding men, at first, to cry it up as a *most divine and perfect state of life*. From hence in *Egypt*, *Ammon* began the same way in the *desert* of *Scetis* and upon *mount Nitria* ; which in a little time were filled with the multitudes of his disciples, among whom the most famous were *Didymus*, *Arsenius*, *Pior*, *Isidorus*, *Pambos* and others. Then *Pachomius* went a way by himself in *Tabennæsus*, and had in a little time 7000. Disciples, which spread themselves over *Thebais* and *Egypt* : besides these there were *Apollonius*, *Pitherus*, *Anuphi* ; and after them, many others mentioned by *Cassian*, *Palladius*, *Ruffinus*, *Sozomen* and others. The fame of these persons was spread so far in the Roman Empire, that multitudes flocked to them, to see their way of living, and to hear their discourses ; thence we read

C. 12.

C. 14.

Soz. l. 4.
c. 23.Soz. l. 3.
c. 14.Cassian.
collat.
Pallad. h. 1.
Laus.Ruffin. l. 2.
c. 8.Soz. l. 6.
c. 28, 29,30, 31.
v. Rosweyd.
vi. Patr.
Hieron. vit.
Hilari.

read of *Melania* and *Ruffinus* going on purpose into *Egypt*, *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Evagrius*, *Cassian* and *Germanus* ; and the same curiosity in others made the Desarts become no great places of retirement to them. From hence *Hilarion* one of *Antonies* disciples, impatient of so much company as flocked continually to him, withdraws into *Palestine*, carrying some *Monks* with him, and settles himself in a Desart, not far from *Gaza*, where he in time gathered great numbers of Disciples : and *S. Hierom* expressly saith, *that before the time of Hilarion there was neither Monk, nor Monastery known in Syria* ; by which it is plain he doth not speak of the *Eremitical* life only, but of the *Cænobitical* too : whatever some pretend of the constant succession of the *Cænobitical* state from the *Apostles times*, which it seems *S. Hierome* was utterly anacquainted with ; and he was not so little a Friend to the Monastick state, to have concealed it, if he had thought otherwise. In the further parts of *Syria*, *Aones* brought the same way of living into request, which was unknown there before ; and *Julianus* at *Edessa* ; and *Eutychianus* upon *Mount Olympus* ; and *Eustathius Sebastenus* in *Armenia*, *Pontus*, and *Paphlagonia*. So far was this *Monastick* life spread
in

*Soz. l. 6.
c. 33, 34.*

L. 3. c. 14.

Hieron. ad
Principium.

in the *East*, while the same Ecclesiastical Historians tell us *it was not known in Thracia, Illyricum, or the parts of Europe; although they were not wholly destitute of men that did affect that way, for which Sozomen only instances in Martin and Hilary.* It seems by S. Hierome that when the first notice of this way of living was brought to *Rome*, it met with no kind acception there, because of the *novelty* of it; but when the *Bishops of Alexandria, Athanasius and Peter*, fled thither upon their banishment, they recommended it so effectually to some of the devout women; that first *Marcella*, then *Paula*, then *Sophronia*, then *Eustochium*, were all for embracing this kind of life; and by degrees brought it into reputation at *Rome*; after this, *Ruffinus* translates S. *Basil's Rule* for the direction of the Western Christians, who had a mind to embrace the *Monastick state*, with such additions and alterations as he thought fit; and the *Egyptian Rules* were brought (if not by *Eusebius* of *Vercelles* as some think) yet it was certainly by *Cassian*, and *Monasteries* settled both in *Italy*, and *Gaul*, and *Brittain*, before S. *Benedict* went into his Cave.

§. 6. But,

§. 6. But, the *Monastick state* had lost very much of its first reputation in the *Eastern* parts, before it began to spread considerably in these *Western*. That which first brought it into so great an esteem, was the mighty opinion of the extraordinary sanctity of the beginners of it, the severity of their lives, the strictness of their discipline, the frequency of their devotions, the diligence of their labours, and a retirement in good earnest from the world. But this heat was too great to continue long; S. *Hierom* in his time complains very much of the *declension of the Monks*; of those who made it only an art of living and a holy cheat; of their fasting for wagers, and victory; and their living without order and discipline; these were those who were called *Sarabaitæ*, and by S. *Hierom* *Remoboth*; and although they are commonly thought to be only a few degenerate Monks, yet the *Abbot Piammon* in *Cassian* hath this severe passage, that scarce any others were to be found out of Egypt, as, he saith, he found by experience, when he was banished with his Brethren in the time of the Emperour *Valens*. S. *Basil* did his endeavour to bring them into better order by the making of his Rule;

*Hieron. ad
Exstoch.*

*Cassian. col-
lat. 18. c. 7.*

Greg. Naz-
ianz. in
Mouad.

Rule ; for his design was, not to found any *new Order of Monks*, but to bring those who were scattered up and down without *rule and Government*, under some kind of *Discipline*, which was well designed by him, but was far from being effectual for the end he aimed at. For by bringing them nearer to *Cities*, they soon grew so troublesome in them, that the Emperour *Theodosius* was

Cod. Theod.
16. tit. 6.

forced to publish an *Edict*, commanding all that had taken upon them the profession of *Monks* to retire from the *Cities* into *Desart* places, and to inhabit there (which *Baro-*

Baron. A.D.
390. n. 48.

nus, without any reason in the world, would have to be understood only of the *Manichees*, and *Jovinian*, and *Apostate Monks*) but by the Favour they obtained in the Emperours Court, this *Edict* was re-
pealed within two years after ; but his son *Arcadius* found them so busie, that he pub-

Cod. Theod.
9. tit. 40,
16.

lished another *Edict* against their rescuing *Persons* from the *Tribunals* of *Justice* ; which it seems was a common practice with them : and *S. Chrysostom* mentions

Chrysost. 17.
ad pop. Ant-
oeb.

their coming down in *Troops* to *Antioch* to rescue those who were seized upon for pulling down the *Empresses* statue : for which although he highly applauds them, yet he found the ill effect of their busie and factious humour in his own case at *Constantinople* :

for

for by reproving them for gadding up and down the streets, as unsuitable to their profession, he made most of the *Monks* his implacable enemies, who thereupon endeavoured to bring him into disgrace among the people : and when *Chrysostom* fell into disgrace with the Emperour, they kept possession of the Church, and would not suffer the people to come in to prayers, upon which they were so enraged that they killed all the *Monks* they could meet with.

*Sozom. l. 8.
c. 9.*

*Zosim. l. 5.
p. 800.*

For now the first heat of their zeal was over, they began to interest themselves in Ecclesiastical affairs, and to make parties, and Factions in the Church. And he that had a mind to set up for a new opinion, and to make a party, went a great way in his business, if he could get the *Monks* of his side : upon this occasion they were first brought to *Constantinople*, by the interest of *Macedonius*, who with the help of *Marathonius* a great friend of his, erected *Monasteries* for them there, and by the assistance of the *Monks* he very much strengthened his party. The *Eutychian* heresie as well as the *Pelagian* and *Macedonian* had its beginning and support from the faction of the *Monks* ; for *Eutyches* himself was the *Abbot* at *Constantinople*, and with him joined *Barsumas* a famous *Syrian Abbot*, who was

*Sozom. l. 14.
c. 2. c. 27.*

Concil.
Chalced.
act. 4. p.
524.

the occasion of the death of *Flavianus*, as *Diogenes Cyzicenus* charges him in the Council of *Chalcedon* ; and upon his return home he and his *Monks* of *Syria* persecuted the *Bishops* of the other party, having a thousand *Monks* with him, and almost ruined the *Syrian Churches*. *Leo I.* charges the *Monks* of *Palestin* (upon their great zeal, some for *Nestorius*, and others for *Eutyches*) that they caused many seditions in Cities, and great disturbances in Churches, and had been the murderers of many *Bishops* and *Priests* ; and through their rage and cruelty had quite forgot their Profession. These

Leo ep. 83.

were the men that had renounced the world, and had mortified their passions, by the rigours and severities of a Monastick life. But here the Reader must take notice that in the late Edition of *Leo* by *Theophilus Raynaudus* the Jesuit, the Title of this Epistle is, *ad Palestinos Episcopos*, instead of *Monachos* : So much more are the Jesuits concerned for the honour of *Monks* than of the *Bishops* ; and care not what reproaches are cast upon them, so the other escape : but it falls out happily that *Baronius* hath fully proved, that all those disturbances were made by the *Monks* ; and that this Epistle was written to them : by which we see what trust is to be given to their correct

Baron. ad
A. 453.
n. 10. ad. 15.

Editions

Editions of Fathers. And notwithstanding the great strictness and discipline of the *Egyptian Monks* we do not find them, after the first fervour was spent, much freer from *faction* and *disturbance* of the *Churches* peace; for they very early joyned with *Meletius* against the *Bishop* of *Alexandria*, as *Epiphanius* confesseth; they conspired the business of *Arsenius* against *Athanasius*, and gave out he was killed by *Athanasius* when they had concealed him; and one *John* a *Monk* was employed to accuse *Athanasius* for killing *Arsenius* who lay hid with *Prines* a *Monk* of *Thebais*. In the time of *Theophilus* *Bishop* of *Alexandria*, the illiterate *Monks* of *Egypt* were such zealous *Anthropomorphites*, that upon *Theophilus* his opposing their opinion in his *Paschal Epistle*, they forsook their *Monasteries*, and came in *Troops* to *Alexandria* with a resolution to destroy him; but *Theophilus* knowing their simplicity, avoided their fury by a subtle answer, telling them *he beheld their face as the face of God*: with which they were very well satisfied, only desiring him to condemn *Origens* Books: which he told them he was ready to do. Upon this occasion a mighty quarrel happened among the *Monks* themselves, the more learned among them opposed the *Anthropomorphites*, but

Epiph. hær.
68. f. 3.

Socr. l. 6.
c. 7.
Socr. l. 8.
c. 11.

the more ignorant and zealous were furious defenders of their doctrine, and charged all that opposed them with being *Origenists* ; *Theophilus* finding out this, and having a particular pique at four learned *Monks*, *Dioscorus*, *Ammonius*, *Eusebius* and *Euthymius*, who were called the *Long Brothers*, he sends letters to the *Monks*, to bid them have a care of them, for they believed God to be incorporeal, and therein were *Origenists* ; for they did not believe that God had either eyes, or ears, or hands or feet : notwithstanding this, a very few, who had more learning, discerning the malice and craft of this suggestion adhered still to them ; but the far greater number who were very simple and furious, most vehemently opposed them, by which means an irreconcilable war brake forth among them ; and things, by *Theophilus* his means, were inflamed to that height, that *Dioscorus* and his Brethren had much ado to escape with their lives, and fled to *Constantinople*, where being received by *S. Chrysostom*, this widened the breach between *Theophilus* and him, and proved one occasion of his following troubles.

The *Monks* of *Egypt* having been thus heated, it was a hard matter to keep them quiet afterwards, for in the time of *Cyril*
of

of *Alexandria*, who was *Theophilus* his Sisters Son, and immediate Successor, the Monks of *Nitria*, hearing of the difference between *Cyril* and *Orestes* the Governour, came to *Alexandria*, 500. in a body, with a resolution to kill the Governour, and one of them called *Ammonius*, wounded him in the head with a stone, so that he hardly escaped with his life. After this, *Timotheus Aelurus*, who had been one of the Egyptian Monks, was the occasion of the death of *Proterius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and caused himself to be chosen in his place. *Theodorus Lector* saith, that he disguised himself in the night and went about the several Cells of the Monks, and called every one by his name, and when they asked who called them, he told them he was an Angel sent to them to tell them they ought not to communicate with *Proterius*, but they should choose *Timotheus* for their Bishop. By which story we have a true account of some of the Monkish Revelations: and some Historians report another as good as this at *Rome*, viz. of *Boniface* suborning one to speak under the appearance of an Angel to that Monkish Pope *Celestin* 5. that he ought to leave the Papacy, and retire again to the wilderness; which succeeded so well with the credulous Pope, that he soon

*Socr. l. 7.
c. 14.*

*Socr. l. 2.
c. 23.*

*Evagr. l. 2.
c. 28.
Theod. Lect.
l. 1.*

*v. Platin.
in Bonif. 8.*

made way for *Boniface* to succeed him ; who afterwards secured him from giving any further disturbance to his Popedom.

§. 7. By this we may see what mighty advantage the *Christian Church* received in the Infancy of the *Monastick state*, in those very places where it began, by the greatest pretence of piety and retirement from the world in those that embraced it. I do not wonder so many great men of the *Church* should magnifie it so highly, before they had seen the tryal and experience of it ; for extraordinary things in the way of piety and abstraction of the world, are very apt to move men of devout minds at the first appearance ; but the best judgement of things is to be made by their continuance. And therefore it is observable that although the *Apostles* began at first with a *community of goods*, while the *Christians* were few ; yet this did not last among them ; nor was it required in the *Churches* planted by them ; because it could not be convenient for all ; and for some to do it and others not, would be apt to beget breaches and mutual suspicions among them. And

1 Cor. 16. 2. I do not find but that the *Church of Corinth*, where every one was to lay aside of his own for relief of the *Church of Hierusalem*,
was

was in that respect as pleasing to Christ, as that state of the Church of *Hierusalem*, wherein they had all things in common. And in matters of this nature, where the first appearance is very fair and plausible, (as it was in the pretended devotion and retirement from the world in the *Egyptian Monks*) we are not so much to regard the judgement of those persons concerning it, who lived in the first heat and beginnings of it, which was the case of *S. Athanasius*, *S. Hierome*, *S. Basil*, and others; as of those who lived to see the effects of it, after it came into a settlement. For they found after the first running so much of the lees still remaining, as put them into frequent and vehement fermentations, which plainly discovered notwithstanding all the pretences they made, they were far from being clearly drawn off from the World.

Synesius was a man of excellent learning, and great judgement, and Bishop of *Ptolemais* in *Egypt* (who lived between the *Monks* of *Scetis* and *Nitria*, and those of *Thebais* and *Tabennesus*, and in a time when they flourished most as to number and zeal) in his *Dion* he gives an account of their way of living, of *their hymns and prayers*, and *separate Cells*, and *abstinence*, and *force they offer to nature*, and the *very kinds of their works*, which cannot be un-

Synes. Dion.
p. 45, &c.

Petav. not.
in Syn.
Holsten. dis.
sert. 3. de
Synes.

derstood of any other than the *Egyptian Monks*; and so *Petavius* and *Holstenius* confess. And after he hath thus described them, he gives this character of their way, that it was barbarous and contrary to human nature; for, saith he, we are not pure and unmixed minds, but joyned together with bodies, so that we cannot be wholly employed in contemplation of divine things, but our minds must divert themselves to other matters; and this, saith he, they confess themselves, by the great necessity of working which they lay upon all: I could wish that we were so framed that we could live wholly in contemplation; but since that is impossible, I wish then, saith he, sometimes to be taken up with the best things, and at other times to partake something of the delight and pleasure of life. For I know my self to be a man; and not a God. to be wholly above these pleasures, nor a beast to be under the power of them; and therefore that state of life which is between these, is most agreeable to human nature. And then falls upon them, for preferring manual labour, before the exercise and improvement of the mind in knowledge and useful Learning: which is both an employment and pleasure to the mind. But in their adamantin way, as he calls it, there is no order, no gradual improvement, but all depends

pend upon motions and impulses, and strange heats and transports, whereby they hope for the end without the means, and aim at things above reason without the exercise of it. How do these things agree, to be now above the Heavens, and presently to be twisting Reeds and making Baskets? But mans excellency lyes in his Reason, which they take the least care about : and those will attain mans end the soonest that act most agreeably to his nature. He doth not deny that there have been some extraordinary minds, which without arts or improvements can do as much as others with them ; but these are as rare as the Phoenix in Egypt ; but the common sort of mankind are uncapable of this ; and all their labour and pains is to no purpose that think to attain to the perfection of the mind by any other way than by improvement of the mind it self. And it is not safe or lawful for us to think, that God should dwell in any other part of us, than in our mind, which is his proper Seat. They mightily cry up temperance and continence, and admire themselves for those things which in themselves are the least ; any further than they serve to higher ends. And afterwards he takes notice of their confident pretences to the knowledge of divine things ; they, saith he,

he, *are Divines*, like *Cadmus* his *souldiers*, sprung out of the earth; and in good earnest, condemns them at last not only for their barbarous way of living, but for a strange mixture of *Pride* and *Ignorance*; having very absurd opinions, and yet very arrogantly assuming to themselves a greater measure of divine knowledge than others had; for they had a particular way of improving their minds by ignorance; which was a sort of *Mystical Divinity* among them too. By this, and his Epistle to *Hypatia* (wherein he describes them again by those peculiar vertues of their *ignorance* and *confidence*) we may see, what opinion this great man had of the *Monastick way*, when it was in its greatest height, and it was not a meer *matter* of *hypocrisie*, as it hath been for the greatest part in the *Western Church*; but men did truly and honestly live in poverty, and real abstinence, and continual labour, with Psalms and prayers, hoping by those means to come to the greatest perfection of our *Souls*; but he saw through all this, and found that when they labour'd only, or chiefly, to keep down the inclinations of the body, *spiritual pride* and *self-opinion* were like to get the better of their *Souls*. And *S. Hierome* who had some experience of

of this way, describes the temptation of *spiritual Pride*, as the most common and dangerous snare, which the most severe and mortified men were apt to fall into ; nay, he saith, that *Antony himself fell into this, by reflecting on the perfection of his life, and that he was cured by an Angel, which revealed to him the greater perfection of Paul the Eremite.* One would wonder to meet with so many combats with *Devils* as we find in the History of the old *Monks* ; either it was as *S. Hierome* intimates concerning some, *that they feigned them for greater reputation among the people,* or that state could not be so much perfecter than others, wherein the *Devils* were allowed to converse so much more freely with men than in other places. And if any one will read but *S. Jeroms* description of his own *temptations* in the *Desarts*, or his *life of Hilarion*, he will easily find, it is not running away from the world will make men more perfect, unless they could leave their passions behind them ; and that a constant care of our mind, and actions in the midst of our employments, is not only more pleasing to God, but a more likely way to subdue all disorderly passions, than the severest life of a *Monk* or an *Eremite*. We have no reason then to believe, that either the *Monastick state*

Hier. ad Rustic. p. 45.

Vit. Paul. Erem. p. 238.

Hieron. ad Rustic. p. 45.

Hieron. ad Eustoch.

at

at first, or the *Benedictin Rule* did come from any divine inspiration ; but as this was borrowed from the former *Rules*, so the former was taken up out of an unreasonable opinion that God is better pleased by our *running* from the World than by *serving* him in it.

§. 8. 2. That the *Benedictin Rule* hath manifest signs of human Weakness in it, and therefore cannot be supposed to come from divine inspiration. Of which the first is, *misapplication of Scripture*. To this purpose the *Person of Honour* mentions *the bringing of that place*, We have not received the spirit of Bondage again to fear; but the spirit of Adoption whereby we cry Abba Father, *to prove that the Abbot doth supply the Room of Christ in the Monastery, Christ himself being the supream Abbot*. To which Mr. Cr. answers, by *expressing his wonder how he could find the least defect, incongruity, or want of prudence in that passage* : and he spends very needless pains to prove, *that Abbots being lawful Superiours for the direction of Souls, the most proper title that can be given them is that of Father, and that Abba signifies Father*. Very well ! but what is this to the producing that place for it ? methinks *Our Father*

*Animad-
vers. p. 42.
R g. S. Be-
ned. c. 2.*

*Epistle Apo-
loget. n. 30.*

Father which art in Heaven had been altogether as proper ; for that would have shewed the title of the *Abbot* as well ; and withall that the *Abbot* was *Gods Vicar* upon earth ; *God* himself being their *Abbot* in Heaven. And if *S. Benedict* had thought upon this place, all that *Mr. Cr.* saith, would have held as well to prove there was not the *least incongruity* in producing it ; and it would have afforded altogether as useful an admonition to the *Abbots* to govern as *Fathers*, and not to *Tyrannize* as *Lords*. But there is yet farther incongruity in it, for as the *Person of Honour* observes, *S. Benedict* brings this in, to prove that the *Abbot* supplies the *Room of Christ* in the *Monastery* (*Christienim agere vices in Monasterio creditur, quando ipsius vocatur prænominè*) whereas there is no such thing in the *Text*, *Christ* is not called there by the name *Abba*, but *God the Father* , for after they are said, *by the spirit of Adoption* to cry *Abba Father* ; it is said, *And if* Rom. 8.
15, 17. *Children, then heirs ; heirs of God, and joynt-heirs with Christ*. So that *Christ* here is not represented under the notion of *Abba*, but rather as a *Son* and *heir* to him that is called *Abba* : therefore he that sustains the *Person of Christ*, can only be the eldest *Son*, *i. e.* the *Prior* and not the *Abbot* ;

Abbot ; so that it is impossible to clear *S. Bennet* from an impertinent allegation of this place of *Scripture*. But this is far from being the only place so impertinently produced by him ; for in the preface of his *Rule* we have a whole Cluster of them, wherein he puts together many places of *Scripture* expressing the earnestness and sincerity of Gods calling men to repentance and sincere obedience, to the *Monastick* life and observing the *Rules* of it. As though it were impossible for men to repent and to do Gods will, unless they did presently renounce their *estates*, and submit to the *Monastick* Rules. This, if he speaks to the purpose, he must account, *awakening out of sleep : not hardening our hearts at Gods call ; hearing what the spirit saith unto the Churches ; running while we have light ; entering into Gods Tabernacle ;* and what not ? As though all Religion were confined within the walls of *Monasteries* ; and the *strait gate* were no other, than that which gives men admission into them. This indeed was the great and fundamental cheat of the *Monastick Orders* in the Roman Church ; they would be called the *Religious Orders*, and would have men believe, that all *piety* and *devotion* was kept warm only under a *Monks Comle* ; and that, if
there

there were any such thing *in the world* (as they called all out of their own precincts) it grew very cold, by taking too much aire abroad. But although they durst not openly defend this, for fear of giving too great offence both to *Clergy* and *Laity* ; yet their insinuations tended this way ; for they only were the *Religious*, and the rest were but the *world*. Which was a horrible abuse of mankind, as well as of the Christian Religion ; which doth never suppose men to be a jot nearer to Heaven for their *nastiness*, and *lying in their cloaths*, for *abstaining certain days from flesh*, for *eating and drinking upon a common stock*, for *having their garments of such a shape and colour*, or whatever other observances were peculiar to the *Monastick state*. The Christian Religion requires sincere humility, and not a *Monkish* affectation of it ; inward purity, and a chastity within the bounds which God hath set us, and not binding our selves by perpetual vows to abstain from what he hath allowed us ; heavenly mindedness, and a mighty regard to the rewards of another life, and not a needless renouncing what the bounty of Heaven, and the care of our Ancestors have provided for us, as to the conveniences of this life : The *Obedience* necessary to salvation is that to the commands

Reg. S. Be.
ned. c. 7.

commands of Christ, and not of an *Abbot*. But this they would fain make people believe, that doing only what their *Superiours* command them, is the *self-denyal* and *renouncing their own wills*, which the *Gospel* makes so necessary to salvation ; which is a notorious misapplication of our Saviours commands ; but these things are common to other *Monastick Rules* ; *S. Benedict* hath other faults of this kind peculiar to his own *Rule* : as when he brings these places for the Monks confessing their sins to the *Abbot*, *Revela Domino viam tuam, & spera in illo* : It is great pitty the word *Abba* was not there for *Dominus* ; for then it had been a plain case : but as it stands, it is somewhat hard to conceive how the *Abbot* comes to be concerned in *our making known* (if that were the meaning) of *our ways to the Lord* ; and to as little purpose are the other places that follow, *confitemini Domino*, and several others that speak of *confessing our sins to God*, but not one word of the *Abbot*, no nor of *Priest* in them : yet this is not all, for in the same chapter he brings something for *Scripture*, which was never there, as when he makes the *Publican* to say *Domine, non sum dignus ego peccator levare oculos meos ad caelum* ; which makes *Menardus* cry out
miror

Menard. in
conc. Regul.
p. 312.

*miror sanè, quia nunquam in toto Evangelio
repereris hæc verba dicta à publicano : he*
justly wond'ed at this quotation, there be-
ing no such words to be found in the whole
Gospel as spoken by the Publican ; but the
fairest excuse he hath to bring him off, is
by saying *that he quoted the words without*
Book, by the help of his memory ; which if it
be allowed will be certainly an argument
to them, that he was not infallibly assisted
by the *Holy Ghost*. But besides these, we
have other arguments sufficient of *humanè*
weakness in this Rule, if I should undertake
to rise and examine the several constituti-
ons of this Rule, particularly that, *when* Reg. S. Ben:
c. 68.
the Abbot requires impossibilities, not
merely *moral* as they would now soften it,
but things *utterly impossible, or unlawful to*
be done ; as when the Senior in *Cassian* re- Cass. l. 4.
c. 26, 27.
quired *John the Egyptian Monk to remove*
a stone, which multitudes of men could not
stir, and another commanded *Mucius to take*
his Son and throw him into the river ; which
they thought themselves obliged by vertue
of *Monastick obedience* to perform ; and in
the case of such impossibilities *S. Bennet*
bids them, *if the Abbot persist in them, to*
trust to Gods help and obey. But the reason
given for this, is, *that they must look on the* c. 2.
commands of their Superiours, as if they

N

were

were the commands of God himself: which is a most senseless and unreasonable thing: but it seems by this, they give the *Abbot* the Title belonging to God, not meerly for name sake: but in case a man were required as *Mucius* was, to destroy his own Child, they must say, they are bound as much to obey as *Abraham* was, upon Gods command to sacrifice his Son. Nay we read in *Cassian*, that God revealed to the *Abbot* that *Mucius* had performed the obedience of *Abraham*; and so they say of another, who threw his Child into a fiery furnace upon the *Abbots* command in imitation of *Abraham*. But to justify this blind obedience, to the commands of Superiours *S. Benedict* brings other very impertinent places of Scripture; such as *obauditu auris, obedivit mihi; non veni facere voluntatem meam, sed ejus qui misit me, &c.* But I am sick of such idle and impertinent stuff, which yet must be cryed up, as the effects of *divine inspiration*. And although *Mr. Cressy* and his Brethren, may admire and cry up the perfection of their Rule, it is plain by the conclusion, their Founder himself had no such opinion of it, for he calls it *minimam inchoationis Regulam*; a Rule for meer beginners; and *Menardus* confesseth, there are much more perfect rules to be found in *Palladius, Cassian, Severus,*

c. 28.

Gaz. in
Cass' ib.Menard. in
Concord.
Reg. p. 81.

Severus Sulpicius, S. Pachomius and others : but *S. Benedict* thought these high enough for the *lazy Monks* of his time, as he expresses it : so that it is plain, he followed no *inspiration* in the dictating of his Rule, but the old Rule of humane prudence, when he gave them, not *the best Rules he could give them*, but *the best which they could bear*. Which, I suppose, was *S. Gregories* meaning when he commended it, not for the *perfection*, or *Divinity*, but *the discretion* of it. Yet as gentle, and easie, and *discreet* as this Rule was, it was hardly ever observed in the *Benedictin Order*, according to the *Letter* of it ; but they have found so many evasions, and distinctions, and dispensations, that we are not to judge of this, or any other Order among them, by their *Rules*, but by their *practices*. For they have so many distinctions of the *essentials* and *accidentals* of their *Rules* ; of *being sworn to observe their Rules*, and *to obey the Abbot according to the Rule* ; about *Rules that have custom going along with them*, and *those which have not* ; about *simple Rules of obedience*, and *purely penal and mixt* ; about the *wayes of interpreting Rules* and *their obligation*, from the *intrinsic natures of the things*, from the *extrinsic probability of opinions*, and the *Power of the Pope to*

Caram.
Comment. in
Reg. S. Be-
ned diff. 7.
art. 1.

dispense, and their *Superiours* to *interpret*; that it is a very hard case if by vertue of one, or other of these, they cannot find some excuse for the neglect or violation of any of their common Rules. And notwithstanding the great *discretion* of this *Rule*, so little hath it been observed by the *Monks* of this *Order*, that *Caramuel* cites this remarkable expression of *Cardinal Turrecremata*, that if *S. Benedict* intended to oblige the consciences of the *Monks* by all his Rules, as so many moral precepts; he would not have given them directions to Heaven, but have laid so many snares for them to send them to Hell.

§. 9. 3. If this *Rule* had been received in the *Roman Church*, as of *divine inspiration*; how comes it to pass, that so many other *Rules* did come up after this, and receive *approbation* and *allowance* in the same *Church*, and upon as great and as high pretences, as ever this was received? If this were believed to have come from God, surely it would have been universally received as such, and embraced, as soon as it was made known to them? How came this very *Rule* to be altered and improved so many times? How came very different Rules from this to receive as publick approbation?

probation? And it may be easily made out,

I. That this *Rule* was not generally received, where it was known In the confirmation of the *Abbot of Cassino* we read, *that the Pope delivering S. Benedict's Rule to him, uses these words, Accipe Regulam Spiritu Sancto inspirante dictatam. Receive the Rule which was dictated by the Holy Ghost*; what could have been said more if he had delivered the *Bible* to him? Who could imagine any thing less by this, than that the *Roman Church* did universally believe, that God had raised up *S. Benedict* as a *Prophet* in his Age, and had sent him on purpose to settle a new sort of life under certain Rules to be delivered by him? So that as *Moses* gave *Laws* by divine appointment to the *People of Israel*, and *Christ* to all persons that *live* in the *world*, so *S. Benedict* was to give *Laws* to such as did *retire* from the *world*, for whom *Christ* had left no *Rules* at all; and taken no manner of notice of any such persons, although there were such among the *Jews* then. But if this were *S. Benedict's* Commission, where did he open it, what way did he take to satisfy the world about it? how came all the Persons of that time and age who were for the *Monastick* way, not immedi-

*Append. ad
Chronic.
Cassin. p. 15.*

ately to yield themselves up to his Govern-
ment ? But we find nothing like this, in the
history of that *Age* wherein he lived ; no
great notice was taken of him or his Rule
then ; there was one *Benedict* of *Nursia*,
an obscure person (for even the wiser sort of
the *Roman Church* laugh at *Arnoldus Wion*
who hath taken great pains to prove the
Austrian Family and *S. Benedict* to be de-
scended from the same stock of the *Anici-*
an Family) who after some retirement from
the conversation of the World gathered
some Disciples to him, who lived together
after a *Monastick* way. And what was
there extraordinary in all this ? Had not
many others done the same before him ?
and even in that *Age* more considerable per-
sons than himself : among the rest, was *Cassi-*
odore, who had been *Consul* and *Minister*
of *State* to *Theodoric* ; in his declining *Age*
he founded a *Monastery* wherein he lived
himself, and gave directions to those un-
der his care, and lived twenty years after
S. Benedict, but he takes not the least no-
tice either of him or his Rule : which sure-
ly he would have done, if they had been
either of them thought of any consideration
in his time. In the same time *S. Equitius*
in *S. Gregory*, is called the *Father of many*
Monasteries in the Province Valeria, with-
out

Arnold.
Wion de an-
tiq. Familiâ
Aniciâ Ven.
1595.

Cassiod. de
institut. di-
vin. lict.

Greg. dial.
l. 1. c. 4.

out any notice of *S. Benedict's* Commission or *Rule*? and *S. Honoratus* had two hundred *Monks* under him, and was so far from being *S. Benedict's* Disciple, that *Gregory* affirms he had no *Master* at all but *God*. L. 1. c. 3.

Adeodatus had *Monks* under his Government, when *Benedict* went into his *Cave*, L. 2. c. 1.

for his good friend *S. Romanus* was one of them. Many others we find mention'd in *Gregories* Dialogues; it being a common thing in those distracted times for persons weary of the world to withdraw into some solitary place with some few companions, and there to live hardly, rather than be continually exposed to the merciless fury of their enemies; which first brought the *Monastick* life into any great reputation among the more considerable persons of these Western parts. *Baronius* confesseth, that at that time the *Monastick* profession had lost its reputation in the East, through the heresie and licentiousness of the *Monks*, when it began to spread it self in Italy and the adjacent parts: but there was no certain *Rule* among them; every one who was the chief governed the rest according to his own discretion, and in general made use of *S. Basils* *Rule* translated by *Ruffinus*, or the *Egyptian Rules* translated by *S. Hierom*, or the *Conferences* of the *Fathers* by *Cassian* as

Ann. tom. 7.
A.D. 519.

they thought fit themselves. And after the same way *Benedict* himself governed those that were under him, disposing them into twelve Cells, and placing in every one of them twelve Monks with a *Superiour* over them; which *Gregory* mentions long before he takes notice of any *Rule* made by him, and *Angelus de Nuce* the present, or late Abbot of *Cassino*, confesses, that he did not make his *Rule*, till a little before his death; and that at the beginning he had not the least thought of making any *Rules* for the Order of Monks: but being grown old, by long experience, and observation, and comparing of former *Rules*, he drew up those which go under his name; which received no Authority from him that made them, but depended upon the free consent of those who submitted themselves unto them: and therefore he compares them to the *Laws* of *Solon* or the *Decemviri*; than which nothing can be said more destructive to the pretence of divine inspiration; for supposing these *Rules* were dictated by the Holy Ghost, their obligatory power would not depend upon the consent of persons, but the Divine Authority of him that delivered them. *Holstenius* thinks that *S. Benedict* made his *Rule* only for his own Monastery at *Cassino*, never intending it for any universal Rule;

Chronie.
Cassinens.
l. 1. c. 1.

Angelus de
Nuce ad
Chron. Cas-
sin. l. 3.
c. 29. n.
1384.

Holsten.
præfat. Cod.
omn. Regul.
c. 3.

Rule; but whether he did or no, it was very little known for some time, after his death: for in an antient Copy of it in the *Vatican Library*, there is a short preface before it, wherein we find that it is called *latens opus*, a work that lay hid, and that it was first brought to light by *Simplicius*; which is said likewise by *Sigebert*: *Simplicius discipulus ejus latens Magistri opus publicavit*; If this Rule came by divine inspiration as the *Pope* and *Mr. Cressy* say (what they believe I know not) how came it to be concealed by *Benedict* himself? was that a thing befitting an inspired person to wrap up such a divine Talent in a napkin, and to hide it under ground? *Angelus de Nuce*, a man much concerned to find out the truth in these things, saith, that *S. Benedict delivered his Rule but a few Months before his death to S. Maurus then going into France, and that before this, there is not a word said of it; and that there were no copies then extant at all of it, that being the Original given to S. Maurus written with his own hand.* This *Simplicius* accompanied *Maurus* into France, and there stayed till his death, and two years after, (which was in all forty three years) and then he together with *Faustus* returned to their Brethren in Italy; and then he made known the

Gallon.
Apolog ed.
Bellet. p. 50.

Sig. b. d.
ill. str.
Script c. 31.

the *Benedictin Rule*, which had been hitherto concealed. So that in the space of forty three years after *Benedict's* death, there was nothing like an acknowledgement made even in the parts of *Italy*, of any such *Rule* at all as the *Benedictin*, much less, that it came by *divine inspiration*.

Epist. Apol.
n. 31.

§. 10. But to shew the universal reception of this *Rule* Mr. Cressly produces the confirmation of it extant in the Monastery of Sublac by Gregory, wherein he mentions not only his reading, but confirming it in a holy Synod, and commands the observation of it through several parts of *Italy*, and whosoever the *Latin Tongue* is spoken; and that whosoever shall come to the Grace of conversion should most diligently observe it even to the end of the world. This I confess is to the purpose, and so much that I think all that are not of the *Benedictin Order* in the *Roman Church* are concerned to answer it. But we need not take much pains to discover the fraud of this, for *Gallonius* in his *Vindication* of *Baronius* against the *Benedictins*, hath given several proofs of the forgery of it; not only by the falseness of the date by comparing it with *Gregories Epistles*, but because therein *Johannes Albanensis Episcopus* subscribes, where-

Gallonii
Respons. ad
Monach.
Bened. p.
103.

as

as in the true Copies of the *Roman Synod* at that time, it is *Homobonus Albanensis*; and because the custom of publishing decrees by the Bishop who was the *Bibliothecarius* was much later than that time; for *Gregory* made use only of his *Notary* for that purpose. And this is so much more probable to be a meer forgery of the *Monks*, since that hath been always their particular knack in what concerns the honour of their *Order*, as the same *Author* hath shewed in many examples relating to our present purpose. For he hath fully proved several of the pretended priviledges of the *Benedictins* to be gross forgeries, as likewise the ample *Donations* of *Gordianus* and *Terullus*, and the confirmation of the Letter by *Iustinian*; the *Bull* of *Pope Zacharie*, and his *Epistle* to *Petronax*; the *Epistle* of *Gregory* to *Bonitus*; and that they had rased several words out of a *Bull* of *Boniface* the fourth on purpose that *Gregory* the Great might appear to have been of the *Benedictin Order*, as he makes it evident by comparing several Copies of the said *Bull*. Have we not then great reason to trust these men in what concerns the honour of their *Order*, who make no conscience of forging donations, or priviledges, or decrees that make for them, or of rasing out

Ga⁷⁰¹.

Apalget &

Resp. p. 54.

57, 91, 94,

99, 100,

110.

P. 64.

out what makes against them ? and this confessed by men of their own Church ; and the facts so notorious, that *Gallonius* saith, *Cardinal Baronius* was ashamed of them, they were such gross impostures ; and he adds himself, that had it not been for their vehement provocations, he would not have exposed such things to the world. The like impostures to these have been discovered by others of the *Roman Church*, who were men of more integrity, than either to defend or dissemble the shameless forgeries of the *Monks* ; as any one may easily satisfy himself by the very many Discourses published by *Joh. Launoy* to that purpose. But I need not go from my present business ; the same *Gallonius* hath proved the *Epistle* of the *Abbot* of *S. Honoratus* to *Simplicius* *Abbot* of *Cassinum* to be of the same stamp : wherein it is said, that all the *Monasteries* of *Italy* had then embraced the *Benedictin Rule* ; of which whosoever was the Author, *Gallonius* saith he, deserved to be punished as one *Ciccarellus* at *Rome* was, who was hanged and his body burned for forging old writings ; it is pitty that all who have been equally guilty there, have not suffered in the same kind. We do not find then any evidence great enough to shew that the *Benedictin Rule* was either delivered at
first

as from *divine Inspiration*, or believed to be so, in those parts of *Italy* where it was first known, or that those of the *Monastick Order* did think themselves obliged to embrace it.

S. *Benedict* a little before his death sent *Maurus* and his *companions* into *France* to propagate his Rule there : and because Mr. *Cressy* quotes a *Synod* about A.D. 874. acknowledging S. *Benedict* to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, I shall briefly give an account of the entertainment the *Benedictin Rule* met with in those parts. Before the coming of *Maurus* into *France*, there were several *Monastick Rules* well known there ; the Rule of S. *Basil* and the *Egyptian Rules* are mentioned by their eldest Historians. The Monks under *Honoratus* at *Lerins*, as appears by *Cassian*, followed the *Egyptian Rule* ; and *Eucherius* Brother to *Honoratus*, saith, that those Monks brought the *Egyptian Fathers* among them. Those about *Marseilles* followed *Cassian* ; the *Monastery* of *Reomaus* was under the Rule of *Macarius*, as appears by *Clodoveus* his Precept. Besides these, there was the *Regula Tarnaten-sis* mentioned in the *Concordia Regularum*, which was observed at *Agaunum* or S. *Maurice*, built A.D. 515. and of S. *Casarius*, which was observed in several parts of *France* ;

Epist. Apol.
n. 32.
Synod.
Dion. 2. c. 7.

Greg. Turor.
l. 10. c. 29.

Cassian.
præf. ad
Collat. 11.
Eucher. de
laud. Eremi.

Annal. Eccl.
Franc. A.
496. n. 111.

Greg. Turon.
l. 9 c. 39.

Annal Eccl.
Franc A D.
667. n. 20.

Præfat. ad
Sec. secu-
dum Bene-
dict. n. 14.

France; and all these before the *Benedictins* were heard of there: and A.D. 570. the Bishops of France in a Council at Tours commended the Rule of S. *Casarius* to *Radegundis*; which they would hardly have done if the *Benedictin* had been in such esteem there, as Mr. *Cressy* suggests. Nay, a good while after the *Benedictins* coming into France, other Rules were embraced and followed much more than that, as the Rule of S. *Columbanus*, which was not received there till A.D. 590. yet though the other had so much the start, this gained ground very much of it, in the esteem of the people and numbers of Profelytes. For as the late French *Annalist* observes, most of the *Monasteries* in France followed the Rule of *Columbanus* and very few the *Benedictin*; which the *Benedictins* finding to take much off from the Antiquity and reputation of their Order in France, when they could not fairly expunge the name of *Columbanus*, they have added the Rule of *Benedict* to it; and so would incorporate both these Rules into one, without any pretence from Reason or Antiquity. For the French *Benedictins* themselves cannot but confess, that the Rule of *Columbanus* was at first very different from that of S. *Benedict*, (although before they say, that those of their Order had al-
ways

wayes believed them to be the same) for in the Rule of Columbanus they cannot find any footsteps almost of the *Benedictin*, and withal they grant, that *Columbanus* came from the *Monastery* of *Banchor* into *France*, before the *Benedictin* Rule was brought into *Britain*; but they say that afterwards these two Rules were united together: (although in the Preface to the first Tome they had said, *they were united from the Beginning*;) but they had as little reason for the latter assertion, as they had for the former. For not only the *Jesuits Henschenius* and *Papebrochius* have plainly asserted and proved the continuance of the difference between these two Rules; but the *French Annalist Le Cointe* hath fully answered all the *Benedictins* pretences, and charges those of their Order with frequent *interpolations* of antient Records on purpose to advance the credit of their Order, and that no ill will to their Order, but meer love to Truth made him discover this to the World, and at large shews that other Rules continued to be observed to the eighth Century; in a l which time the *Benedictin* Rule was in small reputation, till *Boniface's* going into *Germany*: after which it began to be settled by some Synods there; and so by degrees it was brought into those *Monasteries* which before

Prefat. ad
Sec. 1. B2-
nedict. n. 67
Acta Sae-
clorum.
Mart 21.
Vit. Att. al.
Bob. Sect. 1.
n. 2.
Comment.
præv. ad
vit. f. Be-
ned. sect. 1.
n. 2.
Annal. Eccl.
Frat. A.D.
734. n. 32,
&c.
751. n. 107,
&c.
657. n. 20.

before had been under other Rules, and those such as had not only been embraced before the coming of *Maurus*; but several that were made after it, as those of *Aurelianus*, *Ferreolus*, and *Donatus*; which are all mentioned in the *Concordia Regularum*. I now leave the Reader to judge, whether there be the least probability, that either in *Italy* or *France*, the *Benedictin Rule* was looked upon as a *Rule* coming from *Divine Inspiration*; which met with so little acceptance in those Ages, when they might the best judge concerning it, and in those places where the Monastick State was in great esteem.

§. 11. 2. After it did come to be generally received if it were really thought to from God, how came so many alterations and improvements of it to be made, and new *Rules* to be set forth by the consent and approbation of the *Roman Church*? They could not certainly think that the *Holy Ghost* would raise up a Person on purpose, and yet deliver by him an imperfect Rule; if it were perfect, with what face or conscience could they think to amend it, or set up others besides it? Yet both these are manifestly done, by the multitude of additional or different Rules which came up
after-

afterwards. The only pretence for it, is the degeneracy of the Order by length of time and bad customs ; but what then ? must the Rule be amended, or the lives of men ? must we have a new Bible, because this is not observed ? Or can we hope that men will be reformed by another, if not by this ? But this was so frequently practised in the *Roman Church* as to the *Monastick Rules*, that the most charitable opinion we can have of them, is that they looked on all of them only as humane constitutions which might be altered, or amended at pleasure.

The first amendment and alteration of the *Benedictin Rule* was in the *Monastery of Clugny* in *Burgundy* ; the beginning of which is imputed to *Odo* the second Abbot, who dyed *A. D. 943.* saith *Arnoldus Wion* ; 944. saith the *Chronicon Cluniacense* ; *Flodoardus* and *Ademarus* call him the restorer of the Rule, and so do most other Historians, who all agree in the universal decay of the *Monastick Discipline* in that age ; saying, that all the fervor was quite spent, and nothing but the meer dregs of idleness and luxury were to be found among the *Monks* ; that *Odo* was singular in his endeavours to restore Discipline among them, and therefore was cryed up

Arnold.
Wion. Lige
Vite, l. 5.
c. 3.
Bibliotheca
Cluniac.
p. 1633.

V. Biblioth.
Cluniac.
p. 57, 58.
&c.

*Petr. Clu-
niac Epist.
l. 6. ep. 17.*

*Biblioth.
Cluniac.
p. 1354, &c*

*Privileg.
Rom. Pont.
chart. 85.*

as a man of extraordinary sanctity. *Petrus Cluniacensis* who succeeded him in the Government of *Clugny* A. D. 1157. saith, *that in almost all the parts of Europe there was nothing of a Monk left, besides the tonsure and the habit; which was little enough of all conscience: that Odo undertook the Reformation of it almost alone, and he calls him not only the Reformer of the Order, but of the Rule too: but I find no great alterations that he made in it, but only adding some Hymns of S. Martin, to whom he had a particular devotion: but the greatest Reformer of the Rule was this Petrus Cluniacensis, who first composed the Statutes of the Congregation of Clugny, published out of MS. by Marrier and Du Chesne, in seventy six Chapters: and it seems by a Bull of Innocent the second, bearing date A. D. 1136. (extant among their Records) that the Pope gave him power to correct and alter things for the good of the Order: and in his Preface he gives this reason of the alterations he made; because it is one thing what God hath appointed by an eternal Law, and another what is appointed by men for the benefit of others; the first can never be changed, but the latter may: and among those things which may be changed, he reckons fastings, Vigils, bodily exercise and la-*

labour, about which so many Chapters of the *Benedictin Rule* are spent: and in the *Ecclesiastical Office* which Mr. Cressy admires the *Benedictin Rule* for, he makes several considerable amendinents and alterations; and the Reason he gives, why he would have the abstinence from flesh observed, is, *because there was no reasonable Cause of changing it, as there was in other parts of the Rule*; which is a manifest proof, that he did not at all look on the Rule as coming from God, but such as might be altered or amended, as they thought fit.

Statut. Cluniac. c. 12.

After him *Henry the 29. Abbot of Clugny* made a large collection of all the alterations that had been made either by the *Popes*, or their own *Superiours* in the *statutes* of their *Order*; which are so many as are certainly enough to convince any man, they looked not on the *Benedictin Rule*, as coming at first from any divine Inspiration.

Biblioth. Cluniac. p. 1542, &c.

And among the considerable alterations made by this *Henry* himself, the *Chronicon Cluniacense* takes notice of one very remarkable, viz. that he first appointed *that Monks should be shaved by Secular Barbers*; for which this very good Reason is given, *that when they shaved each other, it was not rasure but excoriation*; for which kindness, among many other good things which he

Chron. Cluniac. p. 1670.

did, the Author of the *Chronicon* saith of him, *Anima ejus requiescat in pace. Amen.*

These Reformations of the *Benedictin Rule* by the *Monks of Clugny*, were by no means pleasing to those who began the *Cistercian Order* ; for as appears by an Epistle of *Petrus Cluniacensis* to *S. Bernard* the *Cistercians* objected to them, that they had made new Rules of their own, and rejected the antient Rules for their own customs, notwithstanding in their vow they had promised to observe the *Benedictin Rule* ; and they had made so great alterations and corruptions in the Monastick state, that they had little besides the name of *Monks* left : To this the *Cluniacenses* replied, by calling the *Cistercians* a new race of *Pharisees*, that cry *Touch me not, I am holier than thou* : and how could they call themselves such strict observers of the *Rule* (for the *Cistercian Order* was begun upon this pretence of restoring the genuin *Benedictin Rule* by keeping to the letter of it) when the *Rule* commanded them to think better of others than of themselves ; and *You*, say they, are the *Saints* ; *You* are the rare men ; *You* are the only *Monks* in the world ; *You* must have a new colour of your own ; *You* must be the white Boys, when all the rest must pass for black sheep.

P t. Cluni-
acens. ep.
l. 1. ep. 28.

Exord. Or-
din. Cisterc.
c. 5. in Bi-
blioth. Ci-
sterciens.
Sigeb.
Chron. ad
A.D. 1098.

sheep. And no colour, say they, could have been worse chosen for such whining companions, since white is the colour of Joy and Feasting, and Black of Mourning and Sadness. Thus the jolly Monks of Clugny replied to the new and severe Order of Cister-tians. And for the alterations of the Rule, *Petrus Cluniacensis* answers they had done nothing amiss in it ; for he appeals to a higher Rule, viz. that of Scripture ; and do you think, saith he, that when we promised to observe the Benedictin Rule, we re-nounced the Rule of Scripture ? And from the practice of it in former Ages, he pleads for the change of former Rules. The Ci-ster-tians charged the Cluniacks with break-ing their Rule in wearing of Furrs ; the Cluniacks brought not only the example of Adam for it, but which was more to their purpose of S. Benedict too ; For, say they, very subtilly ; if he did not wear the Skins of Beasts, how came the Shepherds to take him for a Beast when they found him in the Cave ? And do you think, say they, that your number of Coats, is not as bad as our Furrs ? But the Cister-tians were as angry with the Cluniacks, for their wearing Breeches ; but they pleaded a *jus Divinum* of Breeches from Aarons Vestments, for al-though, they say, ceremonials do not oblige,

yet the *Apostle* saith, those things happened to them in a figure ; but they are somewhat troubled that *Aarons* were linnen drawers and represented the chastity of the *Priests* ; yet at last they best resolve the point into the *Apostles* precept about decency and modesty. For the matter of their bedstraw and matts, which the *Cistertians* objected, *Petrus Cluniacensis* tells *S. Bernard*, they had plainly the *Rule* of their side, which left those things to the care of the *Abbot*. But they were somewhat more troubled about the pound of bread a day, which the *Benedictin* *Rule* is so exact in, that a third part of it is prescribed to be reserved for supper ; but suppose say they, it should be a little over or under the third part of a pound which was left at noon ; must we presently go to hell for it ? must men weigh their bread when they travel ; and carry the *Cellerar* with them ? for the *Rule* saith, it must be delivered into his hands. You indeed, say they, are the men that strain at gnats and swallow Camels ; and make our *Rule* to lay traps and snares for us : and withall they call them the weighers of syllables, the hunters of butterflies, that prefer the letter of the *Rule* before discretion ; and set up the *Authority* of that against the conveniency of alterations, which *Petrus Cluniacensis*

niacensis at large pleads for towards the end of that Epistle. Notwithstanding all this, S. Bernard laments the going of his Nephew Robert from the Cistercian Order to the Cluniack, as if he had turned out of the way to Heaven into that which leads directly to hell ; and that, not barely, for the not performing his vow ; but he calls the Cluniacks, *wolves in Sheeps cloathing* ; such as laughed at voluntary poverty, and fasting, and vigils, and silence, and labour, and accounted them madness ; and called idleness contemplation ; and eating, and talking, and all manner of jollity, discretion. How, say they, can God be delighted by our tormenting our selves ? where doth the Scripture command men to kill themselves ? what Religion is it for men to dig the earth, to cut wood, to carry dung ? wherefore hath God made such provision if we may not taste it ? wherefore hath he given us bodies if we may not preserve them ? what wise man ever hated his own flesh ? By these arguments, saith he, was the poor silly sheep drawn to Clugny, and there he was washed and shorn ; and had rich vestments put on him instead of his former Raggs. By this we see, that these several Orders charge hypocrisie upon each other as freely, and as truly, as we can do upon them all.

S. Bernard.
ep. 1. ad
Rob. Nepot.

§. 12. In *Italy* there was nothing of *poverty* left, to which they so much pretended who began the Monastick way, save only the bare name of the *vow* of *Poverty*. And what is this but great hypocrisie, to pretend their perfection to lye in *poverty*, while they abound in *Wealth*? As though it were only possible for men to be rich by themselves; but in case they lived upon a common stock without any particular property, they must be poor and could not be otherwise: although they had above the third part of the Lands in the Kingdom in their hands, as it was the case here in *England*. Call you this *poverty*? Is this the keeping a *vow* of *poverty*, solemnly made to God? or rather is it not a plain mocking of God, and a horrible abuse of the Christian World? If such men did mean honestly, they would speak as others do; and declare that the Monastick state after the accession of so great riches, was quite another thing from what it was first designed; that it now became a more easie and pleasant way of living (only some kind of severities must be undergone to keep the world from seeing through their pretences) because that in it men were freed from all manner of cares of Families or estates, and they lived together, without any fear of
the

the want of suitable company ; and every one in hopes of having their condition bettered by the remove or death of their Superiours, and no one in fear of having it worse, as long as the riches of their community continue. If some Philosophers had been to set down the way of life with the greatest conveniency and freedom from trouble, they would have pitched upon a rich Monastery ; where they were all rich in common, and yet no man had particular property ; but I think they would have had more honesty than to call this a *state of Poverty*. But if ever any persons practised *Plato's* Common-wealth, they were the wealthy Monks, who had plenty of all things in common ; but surely never any Philosopher thought *Plato* meant to bring all men to Poverty by it ; or that men could swear to be alwayes poor and yet enjoy an equal share with others of all conveniences of life. *Epicurus* himself, would have been for a temperate diet, and some healthful severities, and would have born a confinement within pleasant walks, and Gardens, with good company. I know nothing would have troubled him so much as to have been chosen *Abbot* ; for the necessity of giving entertainments, and treating strangers, and looking after great revenues, might have robbed

robbed him something of his beloved tranquillity. But to call these things the keeping a *vow of poverty*, *Epicurus* himself would have abhorred : Yet this was the way or none, which they had to observe it, as soon as the kindness of Princes and others to the Monastick Life had brought such mighty possessions to Monasteries. If we believe *Arnoldus Wion*, who was himself of the Monastery of *Cassino*, that had under it 2 Principalities, 2 Duchies, 20 Earldoms, 36 Cities, 250 Castles, 440 Towns, 336 Mannors, 33 Sea-Ports, 33 Islands, 200 Mills, 300 Territories, 1662 Churches ; and were not the Monks here in a good condition to keep the Vow of Poverty ? *Volaterran* might well say, that *S. Benedict* left rather Kingdoms than Monasteries to his disciples ; and instead of receptacles for men really poor, places of idleness and luxury ; the same *Arnoldus Wion* useth *Volaterran's* expression concerning the ancient *Benedictin Monasteries* in France, that they were rather Kingdoms than Monasteries ; and that *Charles 9.* said, that *S. Maurus* had gotten more riches by his Breviary, than his predecessors had done by their Swords. So that it is no wonder, to hear men complain so early of the general decay of the Monastick state ; as *Jacobus de Vi-*
triano,

Arnold.
Wion. Lign.
vit. l. 1.
c. 2.

Volat. An-
thropo'og.
l. 21. p. 477.

Lign. Vitæ
l. 5. c. 1.

triacò, and *Petrus Damiani* and others do, and say plainly that there was a necessity of a Reformation. And since the Monastick state is accounted one of the most perfect in their Church, why may not the rest need a Reformation too? *Petrus Damiani* confesseth that there was nothing of a Monastick state left, besides the meer habit; that their Rules were forgotten, and their discipline lost, and under the shew of Religion they lived like other men. From hence men that were in good earnest, forsook the Monasteries, and betook themselves to the Deserts; and began to institute Orders upon new Foundations.

Jac. de Vitriaco hist. Occident. c. 13. &c.

Petr. Damian. opus. c. 13. de perfect. Monach. c. 1.

So *S. Romualdus*, having been 3. years in the Monastery of *Classe* near *Ravenna*, was forced to withdraw from thence; for, taking upon him to correct his Brethren for breaking their Rule, they endeavoured to break his neck, when he was risen earlier than the rest to his prayers; but having discovered their design, away he goes into the Desert, where he led a very severe life, and endeavoured to bring up others under him, in the old Egyptian Discipline, keeping them to fasting and hard lodging, and work, some making spoons, others spinning, others making nets and sackcloth; so that

Petr. Damian. de vit. S. Romualdi. c. 3.

Antonin. tit. 15. c. 15. s. 1.

the

Pet. Dam.
c. 26.
C. 64.

Pet. Dam.
de Ord. Ere-
mit. Fontis
Avellani.

De vit. Do-
minici c. 5.
&c.

the Mountain Sytria, was, saith Damianus, become another Nitria. The same Author describing the Eremitical life which he and his Companions (about 20 in all) led in the place called Fons Avellani, laments the degeneracy of the Monastick Order, and sets down the Rules they were resolved to live by ; which prescribed a far stricter course than the Benedictin Rule doth, both as to the Psalter, and Fasting, and Penance, and Silence. They who have a mind to read the perfection of their Discipline, may see it in the Life of Dominicus Loricatus, one of his Disciples, who did for many years wear armour next his skin ; (from whence he had his name of Loricatus) he lashed himself with both hands every day, while he said over the Psalter twice, and thrice a day in Lent ; in six dayes he performed the penance of a hundred years ; which was thus reckoned, 3000 lashes went for a years penance ; after which proportion every Psalter made up 5 years penance, 1000 lashes being accounted for every ten Psalms ; and so 20 Psalters disciplin'd and set home with both hands would make up the penance of 100 years ; one Lent, he saith, he went through a thousand years penance in this way. We must not expect to meet with

with many such examples ; one such man by his works of *supererogation* might be enough to expiate for all the *Monks* in *Italy*. And I do not question they were glad to hear of such a stock coming in to the *Churches Treasury*, out of which they hoped for a plentiful share.

But there was one of *Romualdus* his Disciples, who endeavoured to restore the *Cænobitical* Life, viz. *Joh. Gualbertus* of *Florence*, to whom the *Image* bowed with so much kindness after the sparing the life of his Brothers Murderer, that upon it he embraced the profession of a *Monk* near the Church where it was done : after which he went into the Desert of *Camaldoli* to *Romualdus* ; but not liking the *Eremitical* way so well, he betakes himself to the *Shady Valley*, thence his Order is called, *Ordo Vallis Umbrosæ*, and there adding some constitutions of his own to the *Benedictin Rule*, he begins a *new Order* which was approved by *Alexander 2. A. D. 1070.* and he was *Canonized* faith *Wion*, by *Greg. 7.* by *Celestine 3.* faith *Mireus*. He seemed to have a great zeal to restore their primitive poverty, which he shewed in destroying two Monasteries by a Miracle ; the one by an inundation of water because it was too mag-

*Aub. Mî-
re. Origin.
Monast. l.
2. c. 5.
Arnold. Wi-
on. l. 1.
c. 33.
Antonin.
tit. 15. c. 17.*

magnificently built, and the other by fire, because it had received the whole Patrimony of a Person who came into their Order ; and out of his great zeal for *holy Poverty*, faith *Antonine*, he not only tore the writings asunder ; but prayed God to be revenged on that Monastery, which he was no sooner almost gone from, but the greatest part of it was burnt to the Ground.

Long after these *Ludovicus de Barbo*, A.D. 1409. attempted the Reformation of the *Benedictin Order* in Italy, by restoring poverty, chastity and obedience ; and this was called the *Congregation of S. Justina de Padua*, and since the *Congregation of Cassino* ; wherein many new *Constitutions* were added to the *Benedictin Rule* : several other attempts of *Reformations* are mentioned by *Antonine* and others. But to how little purpose all the former *Reformations* of the *Monastick State* were, we need no other Testimony, than of *S. Antonin*, who reckoning up the original *Benedictins*, the *Camaldulenses*, *Vallis Umbrosæ*, the *Cluniacenses*, *Cisterians* and *Carthusians*, he concludes with a passionate lamentation of their monstrous degeneracy, in the words of *S. Bernard* ; and afterwards adds, that it was scarce possible at first to believe, that an Order begun with so
much

*Arnold. Wi.
on. l. 5. c. 6.*

*Antonin.
tit. 16. c.
23. §. 1, 2.*

much severity as that of Monks should fall into so great looseness; when the old Monks met together in S. Antony's time, their minds were so taken up with divine things that they forgot their bodily refreshments; but now, saith he, it is quite otherwise, nothing of the Scriptures, nothing that concerns mens souls, nothing but idle talk and laughing when the Monks do meet together; and S. Bernard complains of them, as though there were nothing but idleness, and luxury, and intemperance to be found among them. The Cistercians whom S. Bernard magnified so much in his time, were declined, saith S. Antonin, so far from the steps of their Fathers, that they were become unprofitable. The Cluniacenses he saith, were as black within as without: the Camaldulenses were degenerated from the steps of Romualdus, and were all gone backward, a very few excepted. Among those of the Vallis Umbrosa there was scarce one to be found who did good: in a word, he saith, all the Monkish and Regular Orders, which began with so much fervour and zeal, had so far by degrees fallen off from the Rules of their Fathers, that they had nothing left among them but their meer vows; and how well those were kept in such a degeneracy is easie to imagine.

The

The only order which he allows to have preserved to his time its first vigour, was the *Carthusian*. Which began about the same time with the *Cistercian* : but *Bruno* the first institutor of it was far from thinking the *Benedictin Rule* to be perfect ; and therefore he endeavoured as *Romualdus* had done in *Italy*, to revive the old *Egyptian* discipline and severity ; and with his companions he began a kind of *Eremitical* life, living twelve together in distinct Cells, though within the same walls, under the inspection of a Prior, with 18 Lay Brethren and a few Mercenaries ; their diet was the coarsest bread, wine very much diluted with water ; eating no flesh sick or well, buying no fish but eating them when given ; Sundays and Thursdays they might eat cheese or eggs ; Tuesdays and Saturdays pulse or boiled herbs ; the other days only bread and water ; and they eat only once a day except the great holy-days, and then they eat together, and say Mass, and keep their Canonical hours in publick, which at other times, (excepting only Mattins and Vespers) they observe in their Cells ; where they are obliged to perpetual silence and labour and reading and prayer. Their habit is a short and strait garment, rough and sordid even to frightfulness ; and they wear sackcloth next their

Job. Brom-
pton. ad A.
1103. n. 60.
Robert. de
Monte de
Abbat. c. II.

their skin: This is the account given of their Order by *Guibert*, *Jacobus de Vitriaco*, and by *Petrus Cluniacensis*, who commends it for the sanctity and strictness of it; a very good Rule saith *Polydore Vergil*, if the passions of the mind could be confined within Cells, and the flesh be tamed by solitude and idleness; which *S. Hierome* found it so hard to do with the greatest pains. A most certain way to Heaven! if only eating flesh, and cleanly apparel, and conversing with our Friends, were the things that sent men to hell. *Humbertus* complains that in his time *A. D. 1264*. a great deal of the severity of their first discipline was abated by dispensations and relaxations; but whatever agreeableness they may pretend in other things to the old *Egyptian Laura*, they are as far beyond them in the point of riches as may be; for although they began at first with the pretence of great poverty and restraining their Goods and Cattel and Lands within certain bounds, yet for their number they have attained to as great riches as any Order whatsoever, whereas *Cassian* saith, *The old Egyptian Monks had nothing at all to live upon but the fruit of their own labour, and refused to receive any thing to the advantage of the Monastery, from any who came into it.*

Guibert. de vit. sua.
Jacob. de Vitri. hist. Occid. l. 18.
P. t. Clu. iac. de mirac. l. 2 c. 28.
Polyd. Verg. de rerum Invent. l. 7. c. 3.

Humbert. serm. 29. ad Carthus.

Cassian. l. 4. c. 4.
Collat. 24. c. 11.

Monast.
Anglic.
Tom. I.
p. 952.

Although the *Carthusians* had no *Rule* given them at first, yet they have been governed by certain *customs* of their own; among which one is, *that it is not lawful for them, to observe the Discipline, or Vigils, or Religious exercises, or Fasts of any other Religious Order*; which had been a very profane custom among them, if they had believed that their *Rules* were from *Divine Inspiration*.

§. 13. When all the former *Monastick Orders* had lost their reputation in the world as to their pretence of *Poverty*, which they began with; then appeared another sort who would not be called *Monks* but *Friers*; and to satisfy the World as to their *Poverty*, they declared they would have nothing appropriated to them as a community, but would live upon the charity and benevolence of others, and therefore would go under the name of *Mendicant Friers*; which grew so numerous at first that the *Council of Lyons* reduced them to four, *viz.* the *Dominicans, Augustinian Eremites, Carmelites, and Franciscans*. But among these the highest pretenders to *poverty*, were the last mentioned; who would be contented with nothing short of the *perfection of poverty*; For this above all things was
S. Francis

S. Francis his Mistress, which he pretends almost to adore; and in one of his Collations he calls Poverty the Queen of Vertues, a special way to felicity, the root of perfection: the hidden treasure mentioned in the Gospel, for which a man parts with all that he hath; to attain the height of which, he saith, a man must not only renounce worldly prudence, but in some sort humane Learning too: for, saith he, that man doth not perfectly renounce the world that retains the bag of his own sense within his heart. Poverty, he calls, the Foundation of his Order upon which it would stand or fall; nay, such a true lover of poverty he was, that they say of him, he could never be reconciled to the Ants, because they provided for themselves so long before hand. But for those of his Order, he charges them (as Solomon did about wisdom,) above all things, to follow Poverty; and especially in their buildings; and therefore bids them build poor and mean lodgings for themselves; which they ought not to dwell in as their own, but to lodge in them as Travellers. And he makes it one of the inviolable Rules of his Order, that they should have nothing appropriated to them, neither house, nor place, nor any thing.

*Opuscul.
S. Franc.
Tom. 3.
Collat. 5.*

*Reg. S. Franc.
c. 6.*

And as the *Carthusians* zeal was against *flesh*, so *S. Francis* his was against *Money*; which he strictly enjoyns those of his Order never to touch; as though the soul were infected at the Fingers ends. As for working, he leaves it to those to whom God hath given the Grace of working; which he perceived to be not near so common a Grace with them, as that of *Idleness*; if they did chance to work hard, they might receive necessities for it for themselves and their Brethren, but by no means money; and the height of poverty, he tells his Disciples, would certainly bring them to Heaven. This was to be their portion in this world, to which they must stick close. Which was a portion easily left, and which they were very willing to part with; although *S. Francis* took as much care to secure it to them as man could do: For the Rule concludes with a heavy imprecation of the indignation of God and his Saints against those who should presume to violate it. And in his Testament he earnestly recommends to them, the strict observation of his Rule; and forbids all Glosses upon it; and saith, that as he had written it simply and plainly, so he would have it understood by them without any Gloss. And to make this hard lesson to go down the easier, it is evident

dent by the whole management of it, that *S. Francis* had a mind to have his *Rule* received as from *divine Inspiration*; which we do not find *S. Benedict* himself ever pretended to, for he concealed his own *Rule*, and ingenuously confesseth at the end of it, *whom he had profited by*; but *S. Francis* very formally in imitation of *Moses*, goes up to a *Mountain*, and there in the cleft of a *Rock* abides for forty dayes together fasting, only with bread and water; there he pretends to have his *Rule* dictated to him by the *Holy Ghost*; after the forty dayes, down he comes to *Affisum* and brings his *Rule* with him, and gives it to *Br. Elias*, to whom he delivered it to be kept, *Elias* did not like the severity of it, and pretended to have lost it; up goes *S. Francis* again to the *Mountain*, and brings it down new made. *Elias* and his Brethren were hugely troubled, but knew not how to help themselves, at last they agreed to go to him together, and tell him they could not keep it (for *Elias* knowing his *Spirit* and *Self-will*, told them plainly he durst not go to him alone) *S. Francis* suspecting the matter, and seeing them coming towards him, as soon as they had got to the top of the *Mountain* leaps out of the *Cleft* of the *Rock*, and with a fierce countenance, asked

Wadding.
Annal.
A. 1223.
n. 9, 10.

Elias what the matter was? he very submissively tells him, he came to him in the name of them all to intreat some abatement of the severity of the Rule. S. Francis immediately expresses a mighty passion against them, and calls them in a solemn appeal to God, an unbelieving and disobedient Generation: Forthwith, saith their Annalist, a bright Cloud appeared, and upon it, Christ himself (O horrible blasphemy!) saying, why art thou troubled Man, as though this were thy work? Art thou the Law-giver? Art thou the beginner of this Way? Are not all the Precepts prescribed by my self? were not the Tables formed by me? thou wert only the instrument and Pen of the Writer. I know what I dictated, and what I would have observed; the strength of men is known to me, I know what they can do, and what assistance I can give them: I will have this Rule observed to a Tittle, to a tittle, to a tittle; without any Gloss, any Gloss, any Gloss. All this while S. Francis was kneeling and they trembling; then he tells them, Brethren, you see how you have resisted the will of God; if your ears do not tingle yet, I will make the same Voice to be heard again; at which they were confounded and affrighted and fell upon their faces; and upon their
promise

promise of obedience he descended, faith wadding, like another Moses carrying the Tables of the Law, with his face fiery and shining ; but according to the Vulgar Latin it should have been horned too. Notwithstanding all this, they were at it again, and and desired that at least they might have something in common, for their numbers increased so fast, it would be impossible to keep strict poverty. S. Francis goes up the Mountain once more, and returns with a promise only that God would provide for them if they would keep to their Rule, then they all submitted to it. Wadding and De La Hay take great pains to prove, that this Rule was immediately given by Christ himself, not only from the Testimony of S. Brigitt, but of several Popes, viz. Gregory the ninth, Nicholas the third and fourth, Clement the fifth, Julius the second. Upon this, away goes S. Francis begging to Rome, when he comes there, the Pope told him his Rule was too strict ; but upon his solemn affirmation, there was not a word in it of his own, but it was all dictated by Christ himself ; it was confirmed by Pope Honorius, and he denounces a Curse on the breakers of it. Surely, if the pretence of Divine Inspiration for the Monastick Rules be received in the Roman Church, S. Francis

N. II.

N. 13.

*De La Hay
præf. in Re-
gul S. Fran-
cisc. n. 16.*

bids much fairer for it than *S. Benedict* ; for it is plain, he had a mind to have it believed not only by his Brethren , but by the Pope and Cardinals , who joyned in the confirmation ; and by their whole Church.

§. 14. Let us now see what this *perfection* of *Poverty* soon came to, and whether any such respect hath been shewn to this *Rule*, as if they did believe it to have been from *God*: Not long after *S. Francis* his death, *Elias* being made their *General*, obtains privileges from the *Pope* for receiving of money by a third Person ; directly against the letter of the *Rule* ; and soon after he lived splendidly and fared well, kept Horses and a retinue, and told them, all this was necessary for the support of his Government. But this was too gross, and would presently have spoiled the *Reputation* of their *Order*, and therefore upon the complaint made of it at *Rome*, he was discharged, and another chosen. Who was no sooner in, but disputes arose among them about the sense of their *Rule* ; and they appeal to the *Pope* (although *S. Francis* had declared *there should be no Glosses made upon it ; and that they should not obtain Letters from the Pope*) upon which *Pope Gregory* the ninth published

Annales
Minorum.
A. 1230.
2. 8.

N. 14.

ed a *Bull*, declaring, *that they were not bound to admit of no Glosses* (What! although Christ himself in person declared that none should be made! From whence it is plain, that either the *Pope* in terms contradicts Christ, or he must look on all that pretence of *Christs* appearance, as an idle story only made to amuse the *Friers*) and withal adds several Glosses for explication of the said Rule. And the kind Pope adds, *That, although he believed S. Francis to have had a pious intention in his former command; yet, without the least regard to any divine Inspiration, he declares that they were not at all bound by it; and gives these substantial reasons for it, because his Testament could not oblige, without the consent of the Superiours and Brethren of the Order; neither had he power to oblige his Successor.* What becomes of the *Divine Revelation* all this while? But the main thing which troubled the *Franciscans* was, that they found their Order could not subsist without having some things belonging to them, as *Utenfils*, *Books* and other *moveables*, and some among them said, *the property of these things belonged to the Order in common; the subtle Pope found out an excellent Gloss for this, viz. that they should keep to their Rule, to have*

no property either in special or incommon; but they should have the use of them; only the dominion and property should be reserved to those to whom it did belong; and that nothing should be sold, exchanged, or alienated without the Authority and Consent of the Cardinal Protector of the Order. By which, the Pope (supposing the Donors not to reserve the property to themselves) entitles himself and all his Successors to the Dominion and property of all Houses and Goods belonging to the whole Order; which was not only a *Salvo* for their consciences, but a sure way to keep them always in subjection to the *Papal See*. And from hence the Popes have taken upon them the management of their affairs, by *Syndics* and *Procurators* impowred by them, as appears by several *Bulls* of *Martin* the fourth, and fifth, *Eugenius* the fourth, *Sixtus* the fourth, and others. And this same Pope *Gregory* the ninth takes to the *Apostolical See* the Right and property of the Church of *Affisium*, which was magnificently built by the contributions procured by *Elias* while he was *General* of the Order; and by vertue of his *Apostolical Power* declares the Church to be wholly *Free* and subject immediately to the *Roman See*. This Favour of the *Popes*, and sudden multiplication
of

Nitela
Francisc.
Relig. p. 174

Regest. Pon-
tificium
apud Was-
ding. p. 5.

of this *Order*, and the manner of their living, gave a very great Jealousie to the *Secular Clergy* in all parts ; for notwithstanding this high *pretence* to *Poverty*, they knew that so many men must be maintained out of the Church, one way or other, and although it were under the pretence of an *Eleemosynarie* maintenance, yet they undertaking the Office of preaching, and hearing Confessions , and having no *Titles*, could not subsist without manifest encroaching on the rights of the *Clergy*. And so it was found and complained of in all parts, but to little purpose; the *Popes* for good ends of their own, resolving to carry them through in spite of the *Bishops* and *Clergy*. For this purpose they were forced to be still writing *Bulls* in their behalf; ninety seven *Bulls* are printed together of this one Pope by their *Annalist* with a respect to their Order, (besides many extant in the *Annals* themselves) of which several of them are to the *Bishops* of *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, and other parts, *not to molest this new Order*. For as their *Annalist* saith, *about this time their Fame spreading abroad, the People gave liberally to them, and built them houses and stately Churches with rich ornaments (only to shew the perfection of their poverty) and finished them with all*

man-

Annales
Minorum
A D. 1231.
n. 55.
Martyrolog.
Franc. in
addit. Sect.
190.

manner of conveniences for their subsistence; which drew the envy and hatred of the Bishops and Parochial Clergy upon them: and the whole controversie between them was, whether these independent Friars should gather congregations to themselves or no, and therein perform all divine offices, and receive the oblations of the people without any subjection to the Bishops? And in this dispute, the Pope took part with the Friars, and published two Bulls in their behalf to all Bishops, extant in the Decretals, enjoining them to forbear giving any disturbance to the Friars in those matters. And now the sublimity of their Poverty began to shew it self in the height and stateliness of their Fabricks; if any one would see the habitation of Poverty, he may read the description their Annalist gives of their Convent at Paris and the Church belonging to it; and he will imagine (so much is the World altered) that Poverty did vye with Solomon himself, as to the glory both of his Temple and Palace. There were some in those days who were not subtle enough to reconcile these things with perfect poverty, and thought a lower degree of it might have served the Franciscans as it did other Friars; but notwithstanding these glorious Fabricks did not look very like the poor Cottages S. Francis enjoined

Decretal.
Greg. l. 5.
tit. 31. c.
16, 17.

Annales
Minor.
A.D. 1234.
an. 19. ad
2. 29.

enjoyed them, nothing would content these men but the very *sublimity* of *Poverty*.

Richardus Armachanus in his *Sermons* at *Pauls Cross* against the *Friers*, saith, *they were so far from the Poverty they pretended to, that he thought them bound in Conscience to give in charity to others out of their superfluities. For, saith he, these men who call themselves Beggars, have houses like Kings Palaces, Fishponds larger than Earles have, Churches more costly than Cathedrals, more rich and noble Ornaments than all the Bishops of the world; his Holiness only excepted. But it cost him dear for not being able to reconcile these things with perfect poverty: for after many years trouble occasioned by the Friers he died at Avignon. The plain Country-man in Chaucer asks the Frier a great many untoward Questions concerning their Order, which I doubt the wisest of their Order will not easily answer; as*

Ric. Armac,
serm. 4. fol.
163.

Freer, how many Orders be on earth, and which is the perfectest Order? Is there any perfecter Rule than Christ himself made? If Christs Rule be most perfect, why rulest thou thee not thereafter? Why shall a Freer be more punished for breaking the Rule that his Patron made, than if he break the bests that God himself made?

Chaucer. v.
348. last
Edit.

If

If your Order be perfect why get you your Dispensations to make it easie? Certes, either it seemeth, that ye be imperfect, or he that made it so hard that he may not hold it. And fiker if ye hold not the Rule of your Patrons, ye be not then their Frères, and so ye lye upon your selves.

Why make you as dede men when ye be professed, and yet be not dead but more quick beggers than you were before? and it seemeth evil a Dede man to go about and beg.

Why make y^e you so costly houses to dwell in? sith Christ did not so, and dede men shoulde have but Graves, as falleth it to dede men, and yet ye have more Courts than many Lords of England: for ye now wenden throughe the Realm, and ech night will lig in your own Courts, and so now but few right Lords do.

Why be not under your Bishops visitation, and léege men to our King?

Why make y^e men believe that your golden Trental sung of you to take theretore ten shillings, or at least fife shillings, woll bring soules out of hell or out of Purgatory? if this be sooth, certes y^e might bring all the soules out
of

of paine, and that woll ye nought, and then yee be out of charity.

Why make ye men believe, that he that is buried in your habit, shall never come in hell, and ye wēt not of your self whether ye shall to hell or no? if this were sooth ye should sell your high houses to make many habits for to save many mens souls.

Why cobet ye shrift and burying of other mens Parishens, and none other Sacrament that falleth to Christian folk?

Why busie ye not to hear to shrift of poore folk as well as of Lords and Ladies, sith they may have more plenty of shrift fathers than poore folk now?

Why cobet you not to bury poore folk among you? sith they been most holy, (as ye sayn that ye been for your poverty.)

Frēer, when thou receivest a penie for to say a Mass, whether sellest thou Gods body for that penie, or thy prayer, or else thy travel? If chou saiest thou wilt not travel for to say the Mass, but for the penie, that certes if this be sooth, then thou lovest too little mēd for thy soul: and if thou sellest Gods body, other thy prayer, then it is very simonie,
and

and art become a chapman worse than Judas, that sold it for thirty pence.

Why bearest thou God in hand and slanderest him that he begged for his meat? sith he was Lord over all, for then had he been unwise to have begged, and have no need thereto.

Fræer, after what Law rulest thou thee? where findest thou in Gods Law, that thou shouldst thus beg? what manner men needeth for to beg? for whom oweth such men to beg? Why beggest thou so for thy Brethren? If thou saiest, for they have need, then thou dost it for the more perfection, or else for the least, or else for the meane. If it be the most perfection of all, then should all thy Brethren do so, and then no man needed to beg but for himself, for so should no man beg but him needed. And if it be the least perfection, why lovest thou then other men more than thy self? For so thou art not well in charity, sith thou shouldst seek the more perfection after thy power libing thy self most after God. And thus leaving that imperfection, thou shouldst not so beg for them. And if it is a good mean thus to beg as thou dost, then should no man do so, but they becom
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this good mean, and yet such a mean granted by you can never be grounded on Gods Law, for then both lerid and leard that ben in mean degré of this world should go about and beg as you do. And if all should do, certes well nigh all the world should go about and beg as ye done, and so should there be ten beggers against one Yeuer.

Why wilt thou not beg for poore bedyed men, that ben poorer than any of your Sect, that ligger and mow not go about to help himselfes, sith we be all Brethren in God, and that Bretherhed passeth any other that ye or any man could make, and where most need were, there were most perfection, either else ye hold them not your pure Brethren, but worse, but then ye be unperfect in your begging? Whose ben all your rich Courts that ye han, and all your rich Jewels? sith ye seen that ye han nought ne in proper, ne in common. If ye sain they ben the Popes, why gather ye then of poore men and Lords and so much out of the Kings hand to make your Pope rich? And sith ye sain that it is great perfection to have nought in proper ne in common, why be ye so fast about to make the Pope that is

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your

your Father rich, and put on him imperfection ? sithen ye saine that your goods ben all his, and ye should by reason be the most perfect man, it seemeth openlich that ye ben cursid Childzen so to slander your Father and make him imperfect. And if ye sain that the goods be yours then do ye ayenst your rule ; and if it be not ayenst your Rule, then might ye have both plow and cart and labour as other good men done, and not so beg by Cosengery and idle as ye done. If ye say that it is moze perfection to beg, than to travel oz to work with your hand, why preach ye not openly and teach all men to do so ? sith it is the best and most perfect life to the help of their souls, as ye make Childzen to beg that might have been rich heirs.

Why hold ye not S. Francis his Rule and his Testament ? sith Francis saith, that God shewed him this living & this Rule ; & certes if it were Gods Will, the Pope might not foredo it ; oz else Francis was a lier that said in this wise.

Why will ye not touch no coined money with the Crosse, ne with the Kings head, as ye done other Jewels both of Gold and Silver ? certes, if ye despise the Crosse oz the Kings head, then ye be
worthy

worthy to be despised of God and the King: and sith ye will receiue money in your hearts and not with your hands, it seemeth that ye hold more holiness in your hands than in your hearts, and then be false to God.

Why haue yee exempt you from our King's Laws, and visiting of our Bishops, more than other Christian men that liuen in this Realm, if ye be not guilty of traitorie to our Realm, or trespasses to your Bishops?

Frères, what charity is this, to the people to lie, and say that ye follow Christ in poverty more than other men done? and yet in curious and costly housing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and liking feeding, and in treasure and jewels, and rich ornaments, Frères passen Lords, and other rich worldly men, and conest they should bring their cause about (be it never so costly) though Gods Law be put a back.

Frères, what charity is this to please upon a rich man, and to entice him to be buried among you from his parish Church, and to such rich men give letters of Fraternity confirmed by your general Seal, and thereby to bear him

in hand that he shall have part of all your Passes, Pattens, Preachings, Fallings, Makings, and all other good deeds done by your Brethren of your Order (both whilest he liveth and after that he is dead) and yet ye witten never whether your deeds be acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that letter, be able by good living to receive any part of your deeds; and yet a poore man (that ye wite wellos supposen in certain to have no good of) ye ne giben to such letters, though he be a better man to God than such a rich man; nevertheless this poore man doth not retch thereof. For as men supposen, such letters and many others that Freres behoten to men, be full false deceits of Freres out of all reason, and Gods Law and Christian mens faith.

Freer, what charity is this, to be Confessors of Lords and Ladies, and to other mighty men and not amend hem in their living? but rather as it seemeth to be holder to pill their poore tenants and to live in lechery; and there to dwell in your office of Confessor for winning of worldly goods, and to be hold great by colour of such ghostly offices? this seemeth rather

ther pride of Freers, than charitie of God.

Fr  r, what charity is this, to sain that who so libeth after your Order libeth most perfectly, and next followeth the state of Apostles in povertie and penance, and yet the wisest and greatest Clerks of you wend or send, or procure to the Court of Rome to be made Cardinals, or Bishops, or the Popes Chapleins, and to be assoiled of the bow of poverty and obedience to your Ministers, in which (as ye sain) standeth most perfection and merit of your Orders, and thus ye faren as Pharisees, that sain one and do another to the contrary.

Fr  r, was S. Francis in making that Rule he set thine Order in, a fool and a liar or else wise and true? If ye sain that he was not a Fool but wise, ne a liar but true: why shew ye contrary to your doing, when by your suggestion to the Pope ye said, that Your Rule that Francis made was so hard, that ye mow not live to hold it without declaration and dispensation of the Pope, and so by your d  ed? Ne let your Patron a Fool that made a rule so hard that no man may well keep, and

eke your dād probeth him a lier, where he saith in his rule that he took and learned it of the Holy Ghost. For how might ye for shame pray the Pope undo that the Holy Ghost bit, as when ye prayed him to dispense with the hardness of your Order ?

Fr̄er, is there any perfecter Rule of Religion than Christ Gods Son gave in his Gospel to his Brethren ? Or than that Religion that S. James in his Epistle maketh mention of ? If you say yes, then putteth thou on Christ (that is the Wisdom of God the Father) unkunning, unpower, or evil will. For then he could not make his Rule so good as another did his, and so he had be unkunning ; or that he might not make his Rule so good as another man might, and so were he unmighty ; or he would not make his Rule so perfect, as another did his, and so he had been evil willed.

For if he might and could and would have made a Rule perfect without default and did not, he was not Gods Son almighty. For if any other Rule be perfecter than Christs, then must Christs Rule lack of that perfection, and so were default and Christ had failed

failed in making of his Rule, but to put any default or failing in God is blasphemie. If thou say that Christs Rule and that Religion S. James maketh mention of, is perfectest; why holdest thou not thilk Rule without more? And why clepest thou the rather of S. Francis, or S. Dominicks Rule or Religion or Order, than of Christs Rule, or Christs Order?

Frèer, canst thou any default assigne in Christs Rule of the Gospell, with the which he taught all men sickly to be saved, if they kept it to their ending? If thou say it was too hard, then saiest thou Christ lied, for he said of his Rule, My yoke is soft and my burden light. If thou say Christs Rule was too light, that may be assigned for no default, for the better it may be kept. If thou saiest, there is no default in Christs Rule of the Gospell, sith Christ himself saith it is light and easie: what need was it for Patrons of Friers to adde more thereto? and so make an harder Religion to save Frèers, than was the Religion of Christs Apostles and his Disciples helden and were saved by? But if they woulde that their Frèers saten above the Apostles

in Heaben for the harder Religion that they keepe here; so would they sitten in Heaben above Christ himself for their more and strict observations, then so should they be better than Christ himself.

In these *Questions*, (besides several others extant in *Chaucer*) we have the *hypocrisie* and *fraud* of these *Mendicant Friers* fully set forth by a Person who lived among them in the time of their greatest flourishing here in *England*: which *Hypocrisie* of theirs in the *pretence* of *Poverty* is attested by our *Historians*. *Walsingham* saith, that they offered the Pope at one time, for a dispensation to break their Rule, as to the liberty of enjoying rents and Lands, 40000 florens of Gold and much more money. The Pope asked them, where their money was? they told him, in the Merchants hands; the cunning Pope pretended to take three dayes time to consider of it, In the mean time he sends for the Merchants, absolves them from their obligation to the Friers, and charges them under pain of an *Anathema*, to pay the money into his Treasury; and then tells the Friers, he would not have them to break their Rule; by which they were bound to touch no money. And so, saith he, what they had unjustly gotten,

walsingh.
hist. p. 92.
A.D. 1308.

gotten, was justly taken away. I know no reason they could have to complain of any injustice in the Pope, since they declare the *property* and *Dominion* of what they enjoyed was in the *Apostolical See*. And it were pitty the Pope should have nothing but a meer name and title. *Matthew Westminster*, from whom *Walsingham* took not only the story but most of the very words of it, saith it was *quadringenta millia* and not *quadraginta* as it is in *Walsingham*, 400000 *Florens* of gold and much more, to have the liberty to receive lands and revenues ; expressly against their Rule and Solemn Vow of perfect poverty. *Matthew Paris* describes their Frauds as to the *Parochial Priests* and other *Convents*, their flatteries and insinuations into Great men ; and adds, that they were so excellently skilled in the arts of getting money, that the Pope made choice of them above others to be his Collectors, both here and in other Countries ; in so much, he saith, that the Pope made them instead of *Fishers of men*, *Fishers of money*. So much had they kept to their Rule in *S. Francis* his sense, *i e.* to the meer letter of it ; for no men were more skilful in the getting of money, than they were ; if they did but keep themselves from *fingering* of it, they thought, they observed that

Mat. Westm.
A. 1299.

Mat. Paris
ad A. D.
1235.

ad A. D.
1247.

A.D. 1243.

that part of his *Rule* at least, whatever became of their *perfect poverty*. Which he sets forth, when he saith, *that within 24 years after their first coming into England, their Mansion houses were like Royal Palaces, wherein they had unvaluable Treasures, most impudently transgressing the Rules of Poverty, which was the Foundation of their Profession.* And then describes *their hanging about great and rich mens beds when they lay a dying, in hopes of a prey; their drawing people to confess to them, their obtaining private Testaments, their commending their own Order, and discommending all others to that degree, that the people commonly believed they could not be saved unless they were ruled by the Mendicant Friers.* Nay they were so busie not only to get priviledges, but to insinuate themselves into Courts and great Families, that no businesses almost were managed without them, either relating to money or marriages: with much more to the same purpose in him; and if we believe the concurrent testimony of these Historians, there were never greater Hypocrites known, since the Pharisees, and before the Jesuits, than these pretend-ers to *perfect Poverty*: who hated that in their hearts to which they made the greatest shew of Love. We may perceive by

Chaucer

Chaucer what wayes they had of wheadling great persons into an opinion how much better it was to be buried among them, than any where else; the Bishops saw well enough what all this was designed for, *viz.* to have the *profits* of *burials*; and therefore in behalf of the *Parochial Clergy* they opposed it as long as they durst; but *Pope Innocent 4.* declared, *their Churches to be Conventual*, and then to have liberty of *burying in them*; which they made good use of, both here and in other places, to their great advantage. So that, what by the Favour of great Persons, whom they flattered to become their Confessors; what by their *Masses*, and extraordinary Offices; what by Burials, and the charitable benevolence of well disposed persons to them; they made a good shift to keep themselves a good way out of the reach of the *Perfection of Poverty*; while in the mean time they pretended to nothing more than that. But they found more comfort in their own *purse-opening way*, than the *Parochial Clergy* did in their *settled maintenance*; they having found out the knack of pleasing those humours in persons that had the greatest command of their purses: but besides these wayes, when the charity of particular persons began to coole

towards

Annals
Minor. ad
A. 1252.
n. 23.

*Histor. M.
 nor. Pro-
 vinc. An-
 glie. f. 24.*

towards them, they had a certain *rate*
 upon houses which they lived upon, which
Sancta Clara confesses, and saith, *it was easie*
for the people, and abundantly sufficient for
them. So that laying all these wayes toge-
 ther, *although they had sworn so much af-*
fection to perfect Poverty; and professed to
love and admire it above all things; yet
 they endeavoured with all their care and
 diligence to keep it from coming within
 their Doors.

*Martyrolog.
 Franc. ad-
 dit. f. 208.
 Nitela
 Francisc.
 Relig. p.
 174.
 Bernard.
 Senens. vit.
 c. 29.*

§. 15. But all this would not satisfy
 them, for the *Conventual Friars* were ne-
 ver quiet, till, for the greater height of *their*
poverty, they procured leave from the *Pope*
 that they might enjoy Lands and possessions
 as well as others: so much is confessed by
 their *Martyrologist*, and the *defender* of
 their *Order* against *Bzovius*: upon this a
 new *Reformation* began among them, first
 by *Paulutius Fulginas*, but very little re-
 gard was had to it, till *Bernardinus Senensis*
 appeared in the head of it, and then it spread
 very much; these were called *Fratres de*
observantiâ from their strict observance of
S. Francis his Rule; and many and great
 differences happened between them, which
 it hath cost the Papal See some trouble to
 compose: which were so high that *Leo 10.*

in

in the Preface to the *Bull of Union*, declares Leo 10. Constit. 23. that almost all the Princes in Christendom had interceded with him to end the controversy between these two sorts of Beggars, viz. those who had good Lands and revenues ; and others, that had rich houses and furniture and other conveniences, but had no endowments. For this same Pope declared, that these strict Observantines might Leo 10. Constit. 6. enjoy the most magnificent Houses and costly furniture without any diminution to the perfection of their poverty, because the right and property of them was not in themselves, but in the Papal See : but I cannot understand why the same reason should not hold for Lands too, supposing the same Right and property to be in the Popes ; for it cannot enter into my head, that a man is a jot the poorer because his estate lyes in goods and Jewels, and not in Lands ; or why this may not be in Trustees hands as well as the other. Indeed that was the *solemn Cheat* in all this affair, that how rich soever really this Order of Mendicants was ; yet, forsooth they had nothing at all to live upon but the *Alms* of the people, for they had vowed the very height of poverty. why, saith a plain Countrey man, that is not well skilled in Metaphysicks ; the beggars in our Countrey do not live in such stately houses,

and

and have no such rich Ornaments nor feed so well, nor are so well provided for as you are: we that have Land of our own, would be glad to have all things found us at so cheap a rate. Do you think that riches lyes only in trouble and care and hard labour? if that be it I confesse you are poor enough: but in no other sense that I see.

Alas poor man, saith the good Frier, we are as poor as Job for all this.

Now that cannot I understand for my heart, saith the other; surely you call things only by other names than we do: and make that poverty that we plain men call riches.

*Well, saith the Frier, I will shew my charity to your understanding in helping of that, if you will shew yours to us poor Friers; therefore you must know that although we have the full use and possession for our benefit in the things you see, yet Pope Nicholas 3. in the Bull *Exiit*, and Pope Clement 5. in the Bull *Exivi de Paradiso*, hath declared that we have no propriety and Dominion in them, but that is reserved to the Papal See: So that we enjoy all things but have right to nothing.*

Say you so, saith the Countrey man, Then I believe you come within the compass of the Statutes against Vagabonds and sturdy Beggars, for you live upon that which
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is none of your own, and refuse to work.

Tush, saith the *Frier*, that is an heretical Statute, and we defie *Q. Elizabeth and all her works*; as long as the *Pope* hath declared us to be poor, we are so and will be so, although we had ten times as much as we have: For our holy Father the *Pope* can change not only the *names* but the *natures* of things; nay I will tell you farther, if we had as much wealth as the King of *Spain* in the *Indies*, if we had only the *possession*, and the *supreme right* or *Dominion* were declared to be in the *Pope*, we were in perfect poverty for all this.

I cry you mercy Sir, replies the *Countrey man*; *I beseech you intercede with his Holiness to make me one of his Beads-men*; for *I perceive poverty, as he makes it, is better than all my Lands that I have the Fee-simple of: but I pray think of a better way to keep me out of the reach of the Statute*; for if *I have no manner of right to what I enjoy, I may be endited next Sessions for all that I know*; if *I have any right to it, then I have a property*; and if *I have a property, how can I swear that I have none, and will have none, neither in my self, nor in common with others?*

Come, come, saith the *Frier*, these are things too high for you; it is enough
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for us, that have had *Scotus* of our Order, to be able to explain these things.

And yet *Pope John 22.* could understand these subtilties no more than a plain *Coun- trey man* ; for he declares the distinction of *property* and *use*, as it was applyed by the *Franciscans* from the *Bull* of *Nicolas 3.* to be *meer fraud* and *hypocrisie*. For which we are to consider, that among the articles objected against one of the *Beguini* by the *Dominican Inquisitor* at *Narbon*, *A. D.* 1321. this was one, that *Christ* and his *Apostles* following the way of perfection, had no right of *property* and *dominion* in any thing either in *special* or in *common* : which *Berengarius* a *Franciscan* being present, utterly denied to contain any erroneous doctrine ; but said, it was a very good *Catho- lick opinion*, and expressly grounded on *Pope Nich. 3.* his *Bull Exiit* : upon which an *Appeal* was made to the *Pope* and *Cardi- nals* ; the *Pope* to proceed with the greater satisfaction in this weighty affair, sends abroad to *Universities* and *Learned men* to know their opinion herein ; and because *Nich. 3.* had pronounced an *Anathema* against those that should take upon them to interpret or debate the *Bull Exiit*, he takes off this *Anathema*, and gives all men free leave to deliver their judgements. In the

Extrav. ad
condit. de
verbo. signif.

the mean time, the *Franciscans* finding the *Perfection* of their *Order* called in Question, and suspecting the *Popes* ill-will towards them; they met together at *Perusium*; and published their sentence to all Christian People, that the foresaid article was sound and Catholick, because it had been approved by the *Apostolical See*. The *Pope* being thoroughly nettled at this and other carriages of theirs in the controversie between him and the Emperour, and at the insolent behaviour of *Frier Bonagratias*, who was sent from the *General Chapter* to the *Pope*, declared their *Letter* to be heretical, and their *Order* to be founded in *Herefie*; as *Raynaldus* shews from a *Letter* of *Michael Casenas* then *General* of the *Order*, extant in the *Vatican Library*: and finding, saith *Raynaldus*, that the *Franciscans* under the pretence of *Apostolical Poverty* did heap up riches to themselves, which they would have the world to believe did not contradict their *Vow* and *Rule*, because the *Dominion* and property was reserved to the *Papal See*, he published the *Bull*, *Ad Conditorem*; in which he fully sets forth the hypocrisie of the *Franciscans* in pretending to the perfection of *Poverty* upon this reservation of the right of property and *Dominion* to the *Apostolical See*: For, saith he, the perfe-

Raynald.
Annales
A.D. 1324.
n. 55.

tion of a Christian life, lyes principally in charity, which the Apostle calls the bond of Perfection ; which the contempt of worldly things did only prepare men for, by taking off that solicitude which the care of worldly affairs did carry along with it : but where the same solicitude continues, there expropriation, as he calls it, can add nothing to Perfection. But, saith he, it is notorious that the Franciscans, after the said Reservation of Property to the Popes, were rather more than less solicitous about the procuring and keeping of worldly things, both by suits at Law, and otherwise. And under the pretence of this reservation, they have unreasonably boasted of the perfection of their Poverty ; because they have the bare Use of things without property or Dominion. But if they would attend to things rather than bare words, and submit to Truth ; they would find, that they had much more than the bare Use, having the liberty to sell, exchange or give away. And in things consumed by Use, to separate the property from the use, is repugnant both to Law and Reason : and such a reserved Dominion is not real but verbal, and a meer fiction : but supposing there could be a bare use, yet it could not be given the property reserved ; because there can be no difference, between such a bare Use, and the

the full dominion. This and much more is contained in the *Popes Bull*, which fully manifests that all this pretence of *Poverty* was a meer *Juggle*; and fit only to deceive the simple. For in things necessary to life it is impossible to part with the *property* and *Dominion* of them; and in other things, it is great *hypocrisie* to pretend *poverty* under the greatest plenty, merely because a titular *Dominion* is reserved to another Person. For as *Augerius* the *Provincial* of the *Carmelites* said truly upon this occasion, *the perfection of Poverty doth not lye so much in the Title, as in the Use of things*; viz. *such as tends to abate the motions of the flesh and swellings of the mind*; which he did not understand how it could be attained, by a *plentiful Use*, supposing it could be without *property* or *Dominion*. Raynald. n. 68.

But notwithstanding this *Bull* of *John 22.* and the great Truth and Reason contained in it, the *Franciscans* still went on with the same *hypocrisie*; and they obtained that Favour of following *Popes* to recall the *Bull, Ad Conditorem*, (which surely needed not to have been done in case *Nichol. 3.* and he had not differed, as *Bellarmin* and others would fain make the world believe) which was expressly done by *Martin 5.* in the *Bull Amabilis Fructus*, which was confirmed by

Bull. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 14.

Annales
Minor. A.
 1322. n. 61,
 62, &c.

Act. 20. 27.

Eugenius 4. Calixtus 3. Nicol. 5. Pius 2. Paul 2. Sixtus 4. Alexander 6. and Leo 10. Who all proceed upon the same solemn Foppery, that the *Franciscans* had the perfection of Poverty, because the *Dominions* and *Property* of their *Houses, Goods* and *Estates* was not in *themselves* but in the *Papal See*. I might farther have shewn the *hypocrisie* of this pretence of Poverty, from the resolutions of their *Casuits* in this matter, and the frivolous subtilty of their distinctions to salve mens consciences ; but this is sufficient to my present purpose, to shew how vain and foolish the pretence to perfection was in this *Mendicant* way, which is fully confuted (supposing it to have been what it pretended) by that one saying of our *Saviour*, *It is a more blessed thing to give, than to receive.*

§. 16. Hitherto the *Perfection* of a *Christian Life*, was supposed to lye in *abstraction* from the *world*, and *Poverty*, and *diligence in the publick performance of the Ecclesiastical office* ; but these latter Ages of the *World* have produced an *Order* of a very different nature from all before it, but yet pretending to *Divine Inspiration* in the settlement of it : and that is the *Order of Jesuites*. For the *Monks* having lost their reputation

reputation by *laziness*, and the *Friers* by their *hypocrisie*; and their Churches affairs requiring an *Order* busie and active: it was necessary that a new one should be advanced upon other pretences than the foregoing. And the *Jesuits* very well understanding, how much all the former pretences were seen through; and yet how necessary it was in some things to seem to comply with them, they pitched upon such a Model of their own, which took in what seemed most for their advantage; and yet proposed such an *end* of their *Society* as seemed to advance it above all before it. For as *Ribadineira* well argues in their behalf, *the perfection of any Society is to be taken from the end of it; now the end of their Society they pretended to be Charity and Edification, which was in it self more excellent than any of the former Religious Orders.* And that which other Orders accounted their *perfection*, they expressed very little regard to: which was either,
 1. *The constant performance of the Ecclesiastical Office.* 2. *Corporal Austerities.* 3. *A Contemplative Life.* 4. *The solemn Vows.*
 As to every one of these the *Jesuits* have done our Work for us, and have shewed that the *Perfection* of a *Christian state* doth not lye in any of them.

*Vit. Ignat.
 l. 3. c. 22.*

1. Not, in attendance on the performance of the Ecclesiastical Office ; for by the Popes Bulls and Constitutions of their Society they are excused from having any Choire, or from saying their Canonical Office in publick, although they be Priests ; and this is declared by the Popes at the same time, when they declare that this Order was begun by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost ; as appears by the Bulls of Paul 3. and Julius 3. And after the Council of Trent Gregory 13. confirmed the same priviledge to them, that they might the better attend to their studying, reading and preaching ; which Ribadineira and Pallavacini shew to have more excellency and perfection in it, than attendance on the Choire : which they not only prove from a Council under Gregory the Great, but from the practice of other Religious Orders, which excuse their Professors and Preachers, as being imployed about a nobler work. And Thomas Hurtado quotes an expression of a Jesuite, wherein he commends their Order above any other, because they have more regard to preaching and other duties, than the Office of the Choire, which saith he, is a publick affront to all Orders both of Monks and Eriers : and another expression of Valentia, worse than the former, viz. Chorus ad ineptos ; viz. that such

Litteræ Apostol. Bull. Paul. 3. p. 8. Julii 3. p. 58. 67.

Greg. 13. p. 135.

Vt. Ign. l. 3. c. 22. p. 347. Pallavac. vindic. Societ. Jesu. c. 13 p. 65.

Thom. Hurtado Reo- lut. Morales p. 308.

such a constant attendance on the Offices of the Choire so often day and night, wherein the Monastick Orders placed so much of the perfection of their lives, was for those that were good for nothing else: and *Oliver Bonarte* doth imply, *that the Canonical Offices were intended to keep the Monks from idleness*. How very much different is this from the opinion of those who place the perfection of the Monastick Life in this constancy of their publick devotion?

*De instit.
horar. Ca-
nonic. l. I.
c. 13. n. 18.*

2. Not, *in corporal Austerities*. For they have no rule at all by the *Bulls* and *Constitutions* of their Order, requiring any of these, as to *Diet*, or *habit*, or *chastising* themselves; but they are left to the private discretion of particular persons; yet *Ribadineira* saith, *they do not despise those that use them*; which I cannot easily believe, if any credit may be given to the Letter of the Jesuit *Barisonius* which hath been several times printed; bearing date from *Bononia* April 21. 1608. wherein among other things, which he highly commends their society for above any other Religious Order, this is one, *that they do not require those severities in Diet, habit, or lodging, which not only afflict the body, but weaken mens spirits, and dull their understandings*.

Sfort. Pallavac. Vin-
dicat. Socie-
t. Jesu.
c. 13.

And Card. Pallavacini in his *Defence of the Society*, chiefly against the *objections* of other Orders, doth not only confess, that they do not require those rigours and severities either in Diet, or other wayes, which others pretend to, but that the moderate way they proceed in is much more convenient and agreeable to the design of a Religious Society. And because the chief employments of the Society require sharpness of wit, which according to Aristotle is joyned with a more delicate temper of body, which is easily put out of order with hard usage, therefore he looks upon the use of such hardships, as very contrary to their main intention, because they weaken both the body and mind together. All the office of vertue as to these things, he saith, is to retrench all extravagancies, and such things which rather provoke than satisfy the appetite ; and an ability to endure hardships is rather an effect of Nature than Grace : and the Perfection of a Porter, and not of a Christian.

3. Not, in a contemplative Life. For they undertake to prove, that the works of Charity, which their Society is chiefly designed for, viz. Preaching, administering Sacraments, Teaching Youth, &c. are more excellent than a life of contemplation. On this

this account *Julius Nigronus* at large proves the greater excellency of their Order than of any other : which the *Franciscan Martyrologist* will by no means allow to the *Jesuits*. And that, which the *Jesuits* boast the most of, *viz.* their fourth vow of Obedience to the Pope, about Missions ; he contends that their Order was under that Vow in a more eminent manner long before them, as he proves from *Bonaventure*, and others. Which is a thing I am willing to leave them to contend about.

4. Not, in the solemn Vows. For the *Jesuits* have found out a notable device of a simple Vow : by which they understand such a Vow as binds men no longer than the Society thinks fit. *Gregory 13.* in his Bull of Confirmation, declares, that after the two years Novitiate are over, those who will remain in the Society must take the three substantial vows, but only simple, and not solemn, after which they are incorporated into the Society ; notwithstanding which the General of the Order upon a cause which he shall judge reasonable may dismiss them ; and absolve them from all obligation of their Vows. Whereas before the perfection of the Monastick state was supposed to lye in the perpetual Obligation of the three vows ; and none were accounted of a Religious Order,

Jul. Nigron.
Comment. in
Regul. Com-
mun. societ.
Jesi part. 3.
f. 13, 14,
&c.
Martyrolog.
Franc. ad-
dit. f. 221.

Litteræ A-
postolicæ.
p. 217.

der, that had not taken upon them solemn
 vows, (notwithstanding which *Gregory 13.*
 immediately before this, mentions *the divine*
instinct by which Ignatius did make these Con-
stitutions of his Order) and after adds, *that*
those who are only under these simple vows,
are as much partakers of all the merits
(which no doubt are very great) and pri-
viledges of the Order, as those who are pro-
fessed; and as truly Religious as they, and
liable to the punishment of Apostates, if
they depart without leave ; Which the
 P 219, 220. same *Pope* confirms by another *Constitution*
 (this *simple vow* not being so easily digested
 by other *Orders*, and being thought repug-
 nant to the very constitution of a *Religious*
Order) But there was a *Mysterie* in this
simple vow, not so easily apprehended by
 such whose brains were too much mortified
 by Penances ; For notwithstanding they had
 obtained so much favour from *Pope Pius 5.*
 to pass among the *Mendicant Orders*, (be-
 Literæ Apo- cause their *Domus professæ* have no endow-
 stol. p. 116. ments, though their *Colleges* have,) that
 they might enjoy the great *priviledges* be-
 longing to them : yet they took as much
 care as could be taken to prevent any such
 scandal as that of *Poverty* falling upon their
Society. But this was not to be done after
 the dull way of the *hypocrisie* of the *Men-*
dicant

dicant Friars ; but they found out finer and subtiler devices of their own : To this end, they made the distinction of the *Colleges* and *Domus Professæ* ; the former were capable of the richest endowments, wherein they took care for the education of Youth ; in the other were only *Professed Jesuites* who had taken the *solemn vows* ; and were employed in Preaching, Writing, Sacraments, &c. now these were to be without endowments to excite the freer Benevolence of the People ; but yet supposing their Charity should cool, the endowments of the *Colleges* were to be in the hands of the *Præpositus* and the *Society* ; who would be sure not to suffer their chief men to want. And they have so very few of these, that *Card. Pallavacini* saith, *that there are but about thirty of them belonging to the whole Society : whereas* he confesses, *that there were about 18000 persons of their Society.* But besides many other artifices made use of by them to draw the kindness of the Great ones to them (for they little regard any other ; and *Barisonius* saith, *some of the Mendicants had so exposed themselves by selling Masses at so low a rate, that there was a necessity of reforming if not of utterly destroying the whole*

*Pallavacia.
Vindicat.
Societ. Je-
su. c. 9 p 35.
c. 13. p. 67.*

whole Order) the *Jesuits* reserved this way of improving the stock of the Society, by the *Mysterie* of the *simple Vows*: viz. that those who are under them may possess *estates*, which they cannot under the *solemn vows* ; (notwithstanding that one of these *Vows* is that of *Poverty*, and that in the first year of *Novitiate*, they are to renounce all temporal goods not only which they have at present, but may have hereafter) by this means, they can not only discharge themselves of unprofitable members without any burden to the Society ; but in case any *inheritance* chance to fall to any under the *simple vow*, they put in a fair claim to it ; for he is declared *capable to inherit*, and yet he hath parted with his right to the Society when he became a *Member* of it : and if it cannot be done any other way, they release him of his *simple Vow*, and leave the rest to his ingenuity. This is a fetch somewhat above the fat hearts of the *Monks*, or the more gross *hypocrisie* of the *Friers* ; but I think is far enough from perswading any man that the constitutions of this Order came from the *Inspiration* of the *Holy Ghost*.

§. 17. The only Society remaining in the *Roman Church*, of any name, which puts in claim to *Divine Inspiration* in the *Founders* of it, is that of the *Oratorians*: so the Preface to the *Constitutions* of the *Congregation* of the *Oratory*, saith, that *Philip Nerius* was wont to say, that not he, but *God himself* was the *Author* of it. The beginning of this *Congregation* was laid by *Nerius* in *Private Meetings* in his Chamber *A.D.* 1551. which afterwards proving too little for his Company, he removed to a Room over the Church of *S. Hierom*; where *Cesar Baronius*, *Franciscus Taurusius*, and others of his *Disciples*, though not in *Orders*, did hold forth to the people: by which means, so great a number flocked to them, that *Nerius* was accused for keeping *Conventicles* before the *Ecclesiastical Judge*; but notwithstanding the severe rebukes he received from him, they did not give over the *Exercises* of the *Oratory*; and at last obtained leave to continue them. He was so used to *Ecstasies* and *Raptures*, that *Gallonius* saith, it was easier for him to fall into one of them, than for another person to think of worldly matters; and that to avoid them, he was forced to divert his mind from divine thoughts. *A.D.* 1564. he laid the *Foundation* of his *Congregation*, and made some

Gallon. vit.
Phil. Nerii
p. 65.

Barnabe.
vit. Baron.
c. 7.

Gallon. p.
147.

P. 157.

P. 207.

Barnabe.
vit. Baron.
c. 18.

c. 8.

Gallon. vit.
Nerii p. 313

some *Orders* for the *Government* of it; and besides the *daily exercises* at the *Oratory*, *Baronius* and *Bordinus* preached on *Sundays* in the *Florentines Church*; every day of the *Week*, *Saturday* only excepted, four of the *Fathers* in their course made plain *Discourses* to the people for half an hour a piece, the first two were *Moral*, and the latter relating to *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Lives* of the *Saints*; which part *Nerius* afterwards allotted to *Baronius*, from whence he took the occasion of writing his *Annals*; but *Barnabeus* faith withal, that *Nerius* had much ado to keep *Baronius* from embracing one of the severest *Religious Orders*, till *Constantius Tassonus* pretending *divine inspiration*, told him, *God had not called him to it.* A.D. 1575. *Gregory* the thirteenth gave them his *Bull* for settling the *Congregation* of the *Oratory* in the *Church* of *S. Maria in Vallicellâ*; with the *Parochial Charge* belonging to it; and in imitation of this, others were set up at *Naples* and several other places of *Italy*. *Philip Nerius* being made *President* of the *Congregation* sets himself to the framing the *Constitutions* of it; in the first place, he declared it to be his mind, that none who were, or should be of that Order should enter into any *Vows* at all; and that if any had a mind to make *solemn Vows*, they should

should leave the Congregation, and betake
 themselves to some Religious Orders; for
 he designed those of his Society should be
 thought Religious only by the good example
 of their lives, and their diligence in preach-
 ing: and that the manner of living among
 them should be in a mean between the li-
 centiousness of the world, and the Austeri-
 ties of the Religious Orders. Among the
 Constitutions of the Oratory, this is one,
 that in case the Major part should consent
 to the bringing Vows, Oaths, or Solemn Pro-
 mises among them, they may have the li-
 berty to go to what Religious Order they
 please, but the lesser part is to enjoy all
 the endowments of the Congregation, as long
 as they continue in that liberty wherein
 the Congregation was first settled: which
 Constitution was approved by Paul the fifth.
 And in his time in imitation of this at
 Rome a new Congregation of the Oratory
 was set up at Paris without any Vows, and
 with a full liberty of the Members of it
 as to the disposal of their estates; so as
 they obtain no right, they lose none by being
 of the Congregation, and pretend to no pri-
 viledges or exemptions from the jurisdic-
 tion of the Bishops; but profess to live, as
 much as any other Clergy-men, in subjection
 to them; which Congregation by the en-
 couragement

Constitut.
 Congreg.
 Oratorii,
 c. 4.

Congreg.
 Oratorii
 Jesu Christi.
 c. 2.

*Gallia
Christian.
Tom. 4.
p. 993.*

*Aquin. 2. 2.
q. 186.
art. 7.*

couragement of the Bishops hath spread very much in *France* in a little time, being brought in by *Peter de Berulle A. D. 1611.* and before his death *A. D. 1628.* the *Sammarthani* say, that the *Congregation of the Oratory* was diffused almost over all *France*: and I do not question it found the greater favour from the *Bishops*, because its constitution is so repugnant to that of the *Religious Orders*; which place their greatest perfection in those *Solemn Vows*, which the *Oratorians* make nothing of. And thus we have brought the pretence of *Divine Inspiration* so far, that we have seen those things despised and rejected by it in the *Roman Church*, wherein the perfection of the *Monastick State* was placed by the first *Founders* of it; which is certainly sufficient to discover that this pretence must be counterfeit in some or other of these; and according to *Cardinal Bona's Rule* in such cases, we have reason enough from hence to suspect them all.

CHAP. IV.

*Of the Conversion of England , and
the difference between the Brittiſh
and Saxon Chriſtians.*

§. 1. **M**R. *Creſſy* in the heat of his Zeal for the honour of *S. Benediſt* , would make the Vindication of him to be *not barely the duty of thoſe of his own Order, but the common concernment of the whole Nation* : and I cannot blame him, conſidering the weakneſs of his Cauſe, that he calls in ſo many to his aſſiſtance. He had a mind to engage *the whole weſtern Patriarchate* againſt me, but being ſome-what fearful leſt that ſhould not obey his Command, and riſe like one man for the honor of the Founder of *his Order*, he ſummons the *Arrierban* of the *Engliſh Nation*, as moſt eſpecially concerned in the quarrel. If Mr. *Creſſy*'s Rhetorick had been equal to his paſſion, and if his own rage could have

P. 15.

S enflamed

P. 17.

P. 35.

enflamed a Nation, what cause should I have had to repent the attempt of Eclipsing the glory of his Order, by charging Fanaticism on the Founder of it ? But he comforts himself with the hopes *that scarce any one hereafter will be willing to imitate my malignant ingratitude : Malignant ingratitude !* Methinks it sounds very well ; especially in the same Chapter, wherein he calls me *Theological Scarron, a man of poysonous hatred not only against the Church-Catholick Militant, but Triumphant too ; than whom he does not know any Adversary, that could with all his study, have shewed himself more impotent in his passions and less successful in Reasoning.* And after such obliging Kindnesses as these, had he not just reason to charge me with *malignant Ingratitude ?* Which being the utmost and most comprehensive terms of reproach, put me in some hopes, that he hath brought up all that which lay so uneasie at the very bottom of his stomach : And now I shall reason the case with him ; and in truth I do not find the charge of *Ingratitude* laid upon me, any further than as I am a Native of *England*, in which he saith *Christianity was established by the Disciples of S. Benedict* : which being expressed in such large and general terms, gave just occasion

casion to the *Person of Honour* to tell him, that *Christianity was planted with us many hundred years before the birth of S. Benedict*; and that we may reasonably believe that it was sooner planted in Britain, than it was at Rome it self, since the last year of Tiberius was before S. Peters coming to Rome. Therefore Mr. Cressy craves leave to explain himself by saying, that he did not speak it of the planting Christianity in our Island; but he saith, that which he said was (not by his favour that which he said, for he said no such thing; but that which he now tells us he meant by what he said, was) that England, or the Countrey and Nation of the English Saxons who drove the Christian Britains out of our part of the Island, was indeed converted by the Disciples of S. Benedict: and this, he saith, truly he must stand to. Some would be glad to meet with any thing, which a man of so uncertain a humour as he hath been, will at last stand to; but the only reason is, because he must; i.e. because he is a *Benedictin*; and therefore must believe and defend any thing that makes for the credit of his Order. It is very unhappy to Mr. Cressy that when he had Truth and Reason on his side he could not stand to it then; but there are some troublesome In-

*Animad-
vers.* p. 29.

Epist. Apol.
sect. 35.

sects, which fly up and down and make a great noise buzzing in *the air*, and *never stand to it* till they at last fall into the most filthy places.

But since Mr. *Cressy* thinks this a great aggravation of my crime, and is so resolved *to stand to it*, I shall try whether he be not capable of being *shocked* even in this fundamental point of the honour belonging to the *English Benedictin* Order. If then, it cannot be proved, either that Christianity was first brought among the *English Saxons* by the *Benedictins*; or if it were, that it was *established* in *England* by their means, then all the reason Mr. *Cressy* will have left *to stand to* this assertion will be only, because *he must*.

§. 2. I begin with the first bringing of Christianity among the *English Saxons*; and notwithstanding that the Ecclesiastical History of those times, is for the most part delivered by *Saxon Monks*, who had alwayes a kindness for the *Roman Missionaries*, and very little for the *Brittish Bishops* (as may be easily discerned even in *Bede* himself) yet by laying several circumstances together, we may make it appear that *Augustin* and his *Companions* were not the first who brought the knowledge of Christianity

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ty among the *English Saxons*. The first settlement we find the *Saxons* made in this *Nation*, (for no account of their Religion is to be expected before) was after the famous Victory of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, wherein *Hengist* was defeated; and afterwards his Son *Occa*, *Eosa* and the rest of the *Saxons* in those parts submitted themselves to mercy; upon which *Ambrosius* gave them a *Countrey* near *Scotland*, and entred into a League with them: which saith *Matthew Westminster* happened *A. D. 490.* wherein he followed the *Brittish Historians*; for the *Saxon* generally omit any Victories of the *Brittish forces*, and this particularly: yet *William of Malmsbury*, who relates it somewhat differently; saith, that *Hengist* sent *Occa* and *Ebusa* into the Northern parts, who having conquered those which opposed them, they brought the rest to a voluntary submission. So that here we find the *Brittains* and *Saxons* united together so early under the *Saxon Government*, which according to the computation of *Henry of Huntingdon*, was but forty years from the *Saxons* first coming in *England*; and that these *Britains* continued a long time in these Northern parts, appears not only by the name of *Cumberland* (for *Camden* shews, that the *Cumbri* and *Cambri* were

Matth.
Westmonast.
A. D. 490.

Williel.
Malmsbur-
rie. de gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. 1. c. 3.

Henric.
Huntingdon.
Histor. l. 2.

Camden in
Cumberland.
p. 630. &
648.

Bede l. 2.
c. 20.

L. 4. c. 26.

L. 5. c. 24.

Capgrave.
vit. Kent g.
and Bol-
land. 13.
Jan. c. 6.

Alford.
Anal. Ec-
cles. ad A. D.
560.

Church-
History, l. 12
c. 3. sect 7.

the same) but from the rising of *Caedwalla* the Prince of the *Britains* in those parts against *Edwin* the King of the *Northumbers*, who is said by *Beda* to have reigned both over the English and Britains: and was killed A. D. 633. and the *Britains* in those parts are said to have enjoyed their liberty for forty six years, viz. to the time of *Beda's* writing his History; which was A. D. 731. and after the coming in of the *Saxons* 285. Now in this Kingdom of the *Cambri* *John* of *Tinmouth*, or *Capgrave* out of him, saith, that *S. Kentigern* came to preach Christianity, and particularly, he shewed that *Woden* the chief God of the *Saxons* was a mortal man and a King of the *Saxons*, from whom several Nations were derived. Now I desire to know, whether this were not preaching Christianity among the *Saxons*, and that long before the coming of *Augustin*, for *Alford* places it in A. D. 566. and the landing of *Augustin* A. D. 597. No; saith Mr. *Cressly*, he preached only to the *Picts* who were revolted to the *Saxon* Idolatry: and to prove that, makes use of an excellent way by corrupting his Author; for the words in *Capgrave* are these, *woden verò quem principalem Deum crediderunt & Angli, de quo originem duxerant, cui & quartam feriant conse-*

*consecraverant, hominem fuisse mortalem
asseruit, & Regem Saxonum à quo plures na-
tiones genus duxerant: which he thus ren-
ders; And as for Woden whom (by the
seduction of the Saxons) they esteemed their
principal God, and to whose honour they con-
secrated the fourth day of the week, &c.*

What pretence is there to understand these words of the *Piëts* and not of the *Saxons* themselves? I know *Alford* brings that clause in by way of *Parenthesis*, and reads it thus (*& præcipuè Angli de quo originem duxerant, &c.*) but I have set the words down exactly as they are published by *Bollandus* the Jesuit, who mentions his own care in the publishing of it: but saith Mr. Cressy, *it is plain he meant the Piëts, because it is said that by his doctrine he freed the Nation of the Piëts from Idolatry and heresie*: Here again Mr. Cressy discovers his admirable ingenuity; for the words in *Capgrave* are, (several things being interposed) *Piëtorum patriam quæ modo Galweddia dicitur ab Idolatriâ & hereticâ pravitate, doctrinâ suâ purgavit*: which he mentions as a distinct thing from his former preaching in the *Regnum Cambrense*; of which the former words are expressly spoken. And although *Alford*, Mr. Cressy's Author, will by no

*Bolland.
præfat. gen.
c. 1. f. 7.*

Bolland.
Feb. 24. vit.
S. Ethelbert
Comment.
præv. f. 1.
n. 8.

Bibliothec.
Floriac.
hisor. vit
S. Gildæ
c. 8.

Church hist.
l. 12. c. 10.
n. 3.
L. 11. c. 3.
n. 4.
Bolland.
29 Jan.
præf. f. 2.
Acta San-
ctorum Or-
dinis S.
Bened. f. 1.
p. 138.

means allow any *Saxons* to be converted by *Kentigern*, (for fear forsooth the *Saxons* should not owe their entire Christianity to *S. Gregories Missionaries*) yet *Bollandus* ingenuously confesseth, that both *Kentigern* and *Gildas* did employ their zeal and charity towards the conversion of the *English Saxons*. For in the life of *Gildas* published by *Job. à Bosco*, it is said, that the Northern parts of Britain flocked to his preaching, and forsaking the errors of Gentilism they destroyed their Idols, and were baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity. Mr. Cressy, although he allows the next passages to be understood of *Gildas Sapiens*, who lived after the *Saxons* had over-run the Island ; yet, he applies the former passage to an elder *Gildas* called *Gildas Albanus*, that it might with less probability be understood of the conversion of the *Saxons* ; but *Bollandus* hath sufficiently proved that there was but one *Gildas* called by those several titles, and so much is acknowledged by the *French Benedictines*, so that no relief can be had from thence. Thus we see what ground we have to believe that the Northern *Saxons* were acquainted with Christianity, before the Order of *Benedictines* was ever heard of. The next settlement we find, was of the *Western Saxons* by *Cerdic* who
landing

landing with a great force after the death of *Hengist*, A. D. 495. did so weary out the *Britains*, that *Malmsbury* saith, *that they willingly yielded themselves to him, and lived quietly together under his Government* ; and is it then reasonable to conceive that so many *Saints* as lived in that Age by the Confession of our Adversaries, should not in all that time acquaint their Neighbours with the *Christian Doctrine*, (especially if it be true, which *Mr. Cressy* reports of them, *that they wrought so many miracles*) such as *S. David*, *S. Justinian*, *S. Dubricius*, *S. Paternus*, *S. Thelian*, *S. Paulens*, &c. Certainly these men were in all respects better qualified than *Augustin* the *Monk*, if one half of the *Legends* concerning them be true : and why should they neglect so necessary a duty where they had such advantages of doing it, and such an easie way of working miracles to convince the Saxons ? Shall we say, as *Bede* doth, *that the Britains wholly neglected it* ? but that must certainly be understood of such wretched *Britains* as *Gildas* describes, not of such *Saints* as these were : and *Bollandus* thinks those words of *Bede* do need a limitation, viz. *that such Apostolical men were but few in comparison of those afterwards*. Or shall we say, that, these *Saints* had

Malms. hist.
Angl. l. 1.
c. 2.

Church hist.
l. 11. c. 8, 9,
10, 11, 12,
13.

Bed. hist.
Eccles. l. 1.
c. 22.

Bolland. vit.
Et helb. ubi
supra.

church. hist.
l. 11. c. 14.
n. 3.

had a great mind to do it, but because of the continual wars and persecutions they were forced to retire to a Monastick life? No, Mr. Cressy himself tells us, *that Cerdic did permit the Inhabitants of Cornwall, paying an annual tribute, to enjoy the exercise of the Christian Religion; which, saith he, appears by the great number of Saints, which in these and the following times flourished there.* If there were such a number of *Saints* then, how came they never to employ themselves in the Conversion of their Neighbour Infidels? I had thought those who glory so much and beyond all reason in the *Conversion of Remote Infidels*, would have allowed their *Saints* to have converted those that were so near at hand; especially considering how successful they were, where they undertook it. For, *S. Kentigern*, they tell us, for his share purged *Galloway*, converted *Albania*, and sent disciples to the *Orcades*, *Norway*, and as far as *Iseland*. Methinks, a little charity would have done well nearer home; when the *Saxons* needed it so much, and they bred up such numbers of *Disciples* under them, as is reported of *Gildas*, *Iltutus*, *S. David*, and the rest of them. But if notwithstanding all this, Christianity was unknown to the *Saxons*, what will become of the *Saintship* of

of these persons who were so highly qualified, by the *gift of Tongues*, and all sorts of *miracles*, (if their Writers say true) and yet utterly neglected to preach Christianity to the *Saxons*? But for all that I can see, the reputation of these *British Saints* must vaile, when it stands in competition with the *Apostolicalness* of *Augustin the Monk*.

§. 3. But although in these remoter parts the Britains being mixed with the Saxons might acquaint some of them with the Christian Religion; yet surely in Kent and those parts to which Augustin came, he was the first who brought the knowledge of Christianity among them. This is as far from being true as the other: for to omit what *Alford* confesseth to be very probable, viz. that *Irmiric* Father to *Ethelbert* did permit the Christian Religion to be professed in his Kingdom; I shall insist upon what is more certain; viz. the confession of *Bede* himself; that the fame of the Christian Religion was brought to *Ethelbert* before the coming of *Augustin*, by the means of a Christian wife which he had of the Royal Family of the Franks named *Bertha*: whom he received from her Parents on that condition, that he would suffer her to enjoy her Religion, and to have a Bishop to attend her whose name

Alford At-
nales Eccles.
ad A. D.
561. n. 1.
Bed. hist.
Eccles. l. 1.
c. 25.

was

was Luidhardus. What can be more plain from hence, than that the first entertainment which *Christianity* met with in the *Saxon* Court was by the means of *Queen Bertha* and her Bishop *Luidhardus* ? This *Queen Bertha* was the only daughter of *Charipertus* King of *Paris* (one of the four sons of *Clotharius*, among whom his Kingdom was divided) by *Ingoberga* ; and her marriage is mentioned by *Gregorius Turonensis*, to the Son of the King of *Kent* ; which marriage was in all probability solemnized before the death of *Charipertus* ; now *Charipertus* dyed *A. D.* 567. so that *Christianity* had been known about thirty years in *King Ethelberts* Court before ever *Augustin* set footing upon English ground. And is it conceivable that when a Bishop had performed the exercises of the Christian Religion for thirty years in a Church for that purpose, viz. *S. Martins* near *Canterbury*, the *English Saxons* should know nothing of *Christianity* till *Augustins* arrival ? But this is not all ; for we have great reason to believe that the Conversion of the *Saxons* to *Christianity* is in a great measure owing to this *Queen*, and her Bishop *Luidhard*, or *Lertardus* ; who had been Bishop of *Senlis* in *France*, as *Thorn* tells us. I know herein how much I shall provoke the whole Generation

Greg. Turon.
l. 4. c. 26.
l. 9. c. 26.

Chron.
W. Thorn.
c. 2. f. 2.

ration of *Romish Missionaries* ; but I value not the displeasure of those whom Truth and Reason will enrage. *William* of *Malmsbury* (himself a *Benedictin* Monk, and one of the most judicious of our *Monkish* historians,) saith, that by *Ethelberts* match to *Queen Bertha*, the *Saxons* began by degrees to lay aside their barbarous customs, and by conversation with the *French* became more civilized : to which was added the holy and single life of *Letardus* the Bishop, who came over with the *Queen*, by which without speaking he did invite the *King* to the knowledge of *Christ* our Lord : by which means it came to pass that the mind of the *King* being already softened, did so readily yield to the preaching of *Augustin*. By which it appears that the main of the business as to the *Kings* Conversion was effected before *Augustins* coming ; only for the greater solemnity of it, a *Mission* from *Rome* was obtained ; and I am much deceived, if *Gregory* himself doth not imply that it was at the request of the *English Saxons* themselves. I know very well what an idle story the *Monks* tell of the occasion of the conversion of the *English Nation*, viz. *S. Gregories* seeing some pretty *English* boys to be sold for slaves at *Rome*, and having luckily hit upon two or three pious quibbles

Malmsbury.
de gestis
Reg. Angl.
l. i. c. i.

Beda histor.
Eccles. l. 2.
c. 1.

church hist.
l. 12. c. 16.
l. 13. c. 1.
Joh. Brom.
pion Chron.
Regum Can-
tia in init.

in allusion to the names of their Nation and Countrey and King, he was at last in good earnest moved to seek the Conversion of the whole Nation. A very likely story for so grave a Saint ! I do not quarrel with it on the account of the custom of selling English slaves, but for the Monkishness, i. e. the silliness of it. I know Bede reports it, but he brings it in after such a fashion, as though he were afraid of the anger of his Brethren the Monks if he had left it out ; for he mentions it as a reverend tale with which the Monks used to entertain themselves, that had come down to them, by that infallible method of conveyance, viz. Oral Tradition, and quotes nothing else for it. Whereas in the Preface to his History he tells his Readers, that in the matters relating to Gregory he relied on Nothelmus who had been at Rome and had searched the Register of the Roman Church ; but we see as to this story he saith, he had nothing but an old Tradition for it. But since Mr. Cressy is so zealous in Vindication of this story, I desire the other part of it may not be left out which is told by Brompton Abbot of Forval ; viz. that S. Gregory and his companions were come three dayes journey towards England ; and then sitting down reading in a Meadow, a Grasshopper leapt upon his

Book

Book and made him leave off reading ; then S. Gregory thinking seriously upon this little creatures name (for his wit lay much that way) he presently found this mysterie in it, *Locusta*, saith he, *quasi loco sta* : which saith Brompton he spake by a Prophetick Spirit, for messengers immediately came upon them from Rome and stopped their journey. And surely he had been much to blame to undertake such a journey upon the instigation of one quibble, if he had not been as ready to turn back upon the admonition of another. But to set aside these *Monkish fopperies* ; the best *Authority* we can have in this case is of S. Gregory himself : several of whose Letters are still extant in the Register of his *Epistles*, relating to this affair. In one sent to the Kings of France *Theodoric*, and *Theodebert*, he expresseth himself thus ; *Atque ideo pervenit ad nos, Anglorum gentem ad fidem Christianam, Deo miserante, desideranter velle converti, sed sacerdotes vestros è vicino negligere, & desideria eorum cessare suâ adhortatione succendere. Ob hoc igitur Augustinum servum Dei presentium portitorem, cujus zelus & studium bene nobis est cognitum, cum aliis servis Dei prævidimus illuc dirigendum. Quibus etiam injunximus ut aliquos secum è vicino debeant presbyteros ducere, cum*
quibus

Gregor. ep.
l. 5. ep. 58.

Ep. 59.

quibus eorum possint mentes agnoscere, & voluntatem admonitione sua, quantam Deus donaverit adjuvare : and to the same purpose he writes to *Brunichildis* their Mother. *Indicamus ad nos pervenisse Anglorum gentem Deo annuente velle fieri Christianam, &c.* Which are the most remarkable testimonies we could desire to our purpose : for these Letters were sent by *Augustin* the Monk, before ever he had been in *England* ; and therein the *Pope* expresseth the desire of the *English Nation* to embrace *Christianity* (not barely of *Ethelbert* and his Court) that this desire was made known at *Rome* ; that upon this the *Pope* sends *Augustin* and his Companions ; that the *French* who were their Neighbours had been too negligent in this work, and began to be more slack than formerly in it ; that however now, since he had taken so much care to send these on purpose for that work, he intreats them to send over so many Priests as might serve for their interpreters : which is a plain discovery, that there had been intercourse about the Christian Religion between the *French* and the *Saxons* before ; and that still they understood their language so well, as to serve for interpreters to *Augustin* and his Brethren. Mr. *Cressy* who pares and clips testi-

testimonies to make them serve his purpose, renders those words, *Anglorum gentem desideranter velle converti, & velle fieri Christianam* ; only thus, *that the English Nation were in a willing disposition to receive the Christian faith* : but certainly not a bare disposition; but a desire too is implied in them, and the latter words with the same ingenuity he thus expresses the sense of ; *but that the French Clergy and Bishops their Neighbours were negligent and void of all Pastoral solicitude towards them* : whereas methinks *desideria eorum cessare suâ adhortatione succendere*, are words, which although they do blame them for present negligence, do imply withall a former care ; for how could they cease to do that which they had never begun ? And Pope Gregory in his Letter to the Queen whom he calls *Aldilberga* attributes very much of the success of his *Missionaries* to her kindness and prudence ; although considering her zeal and learning, it was rather to be wondered that the work was so long in doing : but, he saith, God had reserved the glory of the Conversion of the English Nation, as a reward to her virtue ; and compares her with Helena, hoping that by her means the Conversion of the whole Nation would be made much more easie ; and

Church hist.
l. 13 c. i.
n. 7.

Greg. Ep. l.
9. ep. 59.

v. Mezeray
ad A. D.
570.

T

he

he adds *that her Fame had already reached as far as Constantinople.* By which we see how much the *knowledge and establishment of Christianity in this Nation,* is owing to the care and devotion of this good *Queen :* and that *Hadrianus Valesius* had some reason to say, *that the Christianity of England was owing rather to the Franks, than the Romans.*

*Hadrian.
Vales. Re-
rum Franc.
Tom. 2.
p. 19.*

§. 4. But supposing, we should yield that *Augustin* and his *Brethren* were the first who brought *Christianity* among the *English Saxons* ; how comes from thence such a mighty obligation to the *Benedictin Order* ? Is it so unquestionable that they were all *Benedictins* who came over, or that any of them were such ? By all the search I can make, this may very well bear a dispute. For it is agreed on all sides that *Augustin* followed the same *rule* and was of the same *Order* that *S. Gregory* himself was of ; and no meaner a Person than *Cardinal Baronius* hath utterly denyed that *S. Gregory* was of the *Benedictin Order* ; methinks his Authority might at least have made *Mr. Cressy* not so peremptory in this matter, and not so resolved to *stand to it* : especially considering the Reasons which he gives. For he plainly proves from *S. Gregories* own words in his *Dialogues*, *that when he founded his*

*Reyner. A-
postol. Be-
nedict. l. 1.*

*Baron. Ana-
nal. ad
A. D. 531.
n. 3, 9, 10,
11, 12, 13.*

his Monastery in Rome, he did not take his Abbot from the Benedictin Monks, who were then removed by the persecution of the Lombards to the Lateran Church ; but sent into the Province Valeria for one Valentius, whom he called his own Abbot ; and withal shews not only that the Benedictin Monastery at Rome had a distinct succession of Abbots, but that the Monasteries of that Province, from whence Valentius was taken, were not under the Benedictin Rule : and that Joh. Diaconus was much to blame for making S. Gregory a Monk under one Hilarion, when himself saith expressly, he was under Valentius. The freedom of this discourse of Baronius brought a swarm of Benedictin Monks about him ; Bellottus, Const. Cajetanus, and others ; but Antonius Gallonius undertook the defence of Baronius ; and at large shews, that the Benedictins produced nothing but trifles, forgeries and lyes to defend themselves ; and Spondanus confesses that Gallonius had with great strength overthrown the Benedictins arguments. But of late the French Benedictins have renewed the quarrel against Baronius, who yet make use only of the baffled arguments of the former Benedictins ; and after all confess, that they are but conjectures ; and that the greatest strength they have lyes in Augustin

*Apologus
cus liber
Antonii
Gallonii
advers.
Const. Bel-
lottum.
Rom. 1604.
Spondan. ad
A. D. 581.
n. 5.
Joh. Ma-
billon præ-
fat. ad Acta
Sanctorum
Ordin. Be-
nedict. f. 7.*

the Monk and his companions being of that Order. If therefore we desire them to prove *Augustin* to have been a *Benedictin*, they presently fly to *S. Gregories* being so; if we would have them prove *Gregory* to have been a *Benedictin*, then they say he must be because *Augustin* was so. So that the main proof of the point, is, *that it must needs be so*; and it must needs be so and they are resolved to stand to it, because it is for the honour and advantage of their Order. And therefore our *English Benedictins* have thought themselves more than a little concerned in this Controversie: for what would open the purses and hearts of the people more towards them, than for them to be accounted the *Apostolical Order of England*? Alas! what have the merits of the *Jesuits* been to theirs? They, an upstart Order, that have converted some in these latter times to *Treason* and the *Gallows*; but the *Benedictins*, the ancient *Apostolical Benedictins*, were the only Persons who *Converted England* to the Christian faith; and therefore they deserve greater respect than the *Jesuits*; however the others have been too cunning for them. Thus we see, upon what hinge the Controversie turns: and I cannot say, the *Benedictins* have been wanting to themselves;

selves ; for Mr. *Cressy* hath not been the only Person, who hath resolved to stand to it in this matter. *Reynerius* hath published a voluminous Book to this purpose, which he calls, *the Apostleship of the Benedictines in England* ; and he proves it chiefly from the common Tradition of the English Nation. And what demonstration can be greater, than the Infallibility of Oral Tradition ? This is proving it in I. S. his Scientific way. As though it were possible for the people to be deceived in a matter of such consequence ; which Mothers would be sure to teach their Children ; viz that *Augustin* the Monk and his companions were by no means *Equitians*, or of any other Order, but right and true *Benedictines*. I confess *Reyner* hath luckily hit on the right Mathematical way ; the very same *Mons. Arnauld* hath taken for Transubstantiation : for, saith *Reyner*, I will instance in an Age wherein all the Monasteries and Cathedral Churches possessed by Monks in England, were in the hands of the *Benedictines* ; viz. in the Age of William the Conquerour : for which he quotes many Authors, as *Mons. Arnauld* doth to prove Transubstantiation to have been the faith of the same Age : Now since it is evident that the *Benedictin* Order was then in possession,

Apostolatus Benedictin. Angliæ operâ Clement. Reyneri. A.D. 1626. S. 2. p. 7.

S. 3 p. 9.

session, and no time can be instanced in wherein the *Benedictin* Order was brought into England from the time of Augustin, it necessarily follows that Augustin and his Companions brought it in. Here is a demonstration in the case ! which I grant to be altogether as good, as that which the men for *Oral Tradition* do produce for their *Articles of Faith*. Thus he proves it, from Testimonies of Authors, and the Foundations of Monasteries, and the particular Histories of them ; by which it appearing, that they were at such a time of the *Benedictin* Order, and no account being given of any change of the Order, he thinks it sufficiently proved that they were Originally *Benedictins*. But is it not possible to suppose that the Histories being afterwards written by *Benedictin Monks*, they would for the honour of their Order conceal any such alteration, if it had happened among them ? We find in other Countries, the *Benedictins* have done the same thing, and why should we wonder if they have done it in *England* ? *Trithemius*, who was no fool, for the greater honour of the *Benedictins*, reckons *Caprasius* among the famous men of that Order ; but the mischief of it is that *Caprasius* lived about a hundred years before *S. Benedict* :

*Trithem. de
viris illu-
stribus or-
din. S. Be-
dicti. l. 3.
c. 279.*

nedict : as *Vincentius Baralis* observes. So likewise he places *S. Cesarius* among them, who dyed (after he had been *Bishop* of *Arles* forty years) before *S. Benedict*, and therefore was somewhat unlikely to be bred up a *Monk* in his Order : indeed in one of his *Homilies* he calls *S. Benedict* our Father ; but the same *Vincentius* observes, that the name *Benedict* was foisted in by the *Monks*, no such name appearing in the antient *MS.* And it appears by the foregoing Chapter, that this Demonstration will not hold in *France* ; and certainly there is as little reason it should in *England*.

Chronolog.
Sanctorum
Insule Ie-
ruensis. p. 193

Trib. l. 3.
c. 84.

Baralis,
p. 251.

§. 5. For Mr. *Broughton* hath taken a great deal of pains to prove, That there were other antient Orders which continued after the coming of *Augustin*, that neither *Gregory* nor *Augustin*, nor his Companions could be *Benedictins* ; that the *Monastick Rules* introduced by *Augustin* were very different from those of *Benedict* ; both in habit, customs, publick service and other particulars : and that not any one Monastery, till about an hundred years after *Augustin's* coming into *England*, was or could be of *S. Benedict's Rule* or Order : and in answer to the former Demonstration, he saith, That since it is evident there was

Broughtons
Memorial,
c. 13, 14,
18, 23, 24,
25, &c.

c. 30.

no such thing in Ethelbert and S. Austins time: the other latter times are produced to no purpose; all men granting that both Benedictin Monks, and many latter Orders were in England in those dayes. And what doth meek Mr. Cressy answer to angry Mr. Broughton, as he calls him? He produces the Testimony of our four Learned Antiquaries Sr. R. C. Sr. H. Sp. Mr. Selden and Mr. Cambden; which he produces falsly and to little purpose. Falsely, for he thus introduces it; that they expressly in opposition to Mr. Broughton testifie, that whereas he affirmed, that the first Converters of Saxons in England, were not Benedictins, but Equitians, &c. Who affirmed this? Mr. Broughton? I wish Mr. Cressy would learn to write either with more honesty, or more care. For Mr. Broughton in the very Title page of his Book saith, That the Design of it is to prove, that in the Primitive Church of the Saxons, there was no Rule, nor Order from Egypt, nor of S. Benedict, nor of S. Equitius: and in the body of his Book he very often disproves their opinion who made Augustin and his Companions to be of an Equitian Order: and Mr. Broughton writ since their testimony and in confutation of it. Now their Testimony, as it is set down by Mr. Cressy, is thus, that they having
spent

Epist. Apol.
sect. 35.

spent much time in searching the *Antiquities* of our Nation do affirm, they could find only two sorts of Monks in the antient Saxon Churches, the first such as followed the Egyptian form of Monachism, before S. Austin's arrival (which plainly makes against Mr. Cressy, being an express acknowledgement, that there was another Order of Monks among the Saxons, and consequently that Christianity was entertain'd by them, before S. Austins arrival in England) and the other Benedictins companions of S. Austin. And as for Equitians, no such name was extant in any antient record. Moreover, that whereas they could exactly discover the Original and entrance of all other Religious Orders, and could name the very years, they could not do so of the Benedictins, which firmly argues that S. Augustin and his associates were Benedictins, &c. I could hardly believe that Persons of so much understanding would ever draw up such a Testimony as this; which at least seems to contradict it self; for whereas they say, they could not name the year when the Benedictins came in; and yet say that S. Augustin and his companions did bring the Benedictin Order hither; the time of whose coming they as certainly knew, as of any other Orders, looks too much like a

con-

contradiction for such great men to be guilty of. But we must suppose they meant any year after *Augustins* coming; yet I can hardly think such knowing persons should not at least be able to give a very probable conjecture concerning it. For in the MS. life of *wilfrid* extant in the Library of one of those Learned Persons, and written by one that lived in the same time with him, and whose name is mentioned by *Bede* in his History, viz. *Steph. Eddius* or *Heddius*, we have this account of him; *that at fourteen years of Age, he was sent by Queen Eanfled to attend upon a Noble man called Cudda in the Monastery of Lindisfarn: After he had been there a while the Spirit moved him (suggerente Spiritu Sancto) to go to Rome, to visit the Apostolical See; adhuc inattritam viam genti nostræ temptare in cor adolescentis supra dicti ascendit; a road very little frequented by our Nation (it seems then Pilgrimages, and Appeals to Rome were very little known in those dayes). The Queen understanding his desire sends him to Erconbert King of Kent, who found out a companion for him whom he calls Biscop-baducing; (but more commonly known by the name of Benedict Biscop, whose life is written by Bede, and their going together is mentioned*
in

Vit. S. Wilfrid. c. 2, 3.
MS. in Bib.loth Cotton.
Bed. Hist.
l. 4. c. 2.

Bed. Histor. Abbatum Wivemuth, &c.

Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 5.
c. 20.

in his History) *Wilfrid stayes a while behind in France ; but afterwards arrived at Rome, where by the help of Boniface the Arch-Deacon he was well instructed in the Rules of Ecclesiastical Discipline , and admitted to the Popes Favour and Benediction :* *Vit. Wilfrid.*
c. 5.
 (after which he ever continued the Popes most humble servant), *In his return through France he received the tonsure of S. Peter ; (for it seems they were so cunning in those days, to know exactly the different cuts of S. Peter and S. Paul, and of Simon Magus, (as we may see afterwards) and Wilfrid was guilty of no malignant ingratitude for this favour, for he stood to it with great zeal against the Scots who liked S. Pauls Cut better) Upon his return he was entertained with great kindness by Alch-* c. 7.
frid the Son of Oswi, by whom he was drawn off from the customs of his Countrey to those of Rome , from whom Wilfrid received the Monastery of Rippon ; and soon after was made Priest by Agilbertus. Then happened the famous conference between Wilfrid and c. 10.
Colman Arch-bishop of York about the time of Easter, and the right Tonsure , wherein Wilfrid shewed a more than ordinary zeal for the Roman Customs ; insomuch that when upon the cession of Colman he was chosen Bishop he refused to be consecrated by any
 of

C. 12.

of them , as *Schismatical Persons* ; and therefore in great humility he desired leave to be consecrated in *France*. In the mean time *Ceadda* by King *Oswi's* consent was made *Bishop*, and consecrated at home ; *wilfrid* upon his return finding the See full, was employed by *Vulpher King* of the *Mer-*

C. 14.

death of *Deus-dedit* he was sent for by *Ecbert King* of *Kent* , where he went up and down through his Countrey , and then adds, & cum Regula Benedicti instituta Ecclesiarum bene melioravit , he improved the Orders of Churches by the Rule of *S. Benedict* : which is in effect to say , that he first brought this Order among them ; for how could he better their Orders by it, if they had it among them before ? And he presently adds, Tunc ergo in illis regionibus sancto Episcopo sicut Paulo Apostolo magnum ostium fidei Deo adjuvante apertum est : as though the receiving the Order of *S. Benedict* were of as much consequence as believing the Christian Faith. After three years by *Theodore's* means then *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*, he was put into the *Arch-bishoprick* of *York* and *Ceadda* deposed ; he had not been long there , but refusing to consent to the making of three *Bishops* under him , he was deprived by *Theodore* :
wilfrid

Wilfrid appeals to *Rome*, and hastens thither himself, where he was kindly received (for *Rome* from its foundation hath been an *Asylum* for fugitives especially when their coming helps to increase its *Grandeur*) *Pope* C. 29.
Agatho with his Council orders his restitution; and threatens deprivation and excommunication to those that refuse him: *Wilfrid* returns loaden with *Reliques*, and the *Popes Bull*; the *King* and the *Bishops* refuse to obey the *Popes* command; and instead of restoring him, the *King* commits him to C. 31.
 Prison, and afterwards banished him; and he returned not home till the second year of *Aldfrid*, where he continued not long C. 41.
 but he was banished again for refusing to submit to the *Synodical Constitutions* at home. C. 42.
 Then a *Synod* was called of all the *Bishops* of *England* to which *Wilfrid* was summon'd, where he upbraided the *Bishops*; that they C. 43.
 had opposed the *Popes* command for twenty two years, and wondered they durst prefer the *Constitutions* of *Theodore* before the *Bull* of the *Pope*. (Was not *England* in great subjection to *Rome* at that time, when all the *Bishops* (one factious person excepted) refused to obey the *Pope* upon an appeal for two and twenty years together? and governed themselves by their own *Constitutions* in opposition to the *Popes* express com-

t. 44.

command ?) Notwithstanding, the *Bishops* persist in their resolution, and would hearken to no terms, unless *wilfrid* would submit to their sentence, and oblige himself to *run no more beyond Sea* ; which he refuses to do, and appeals again to *Rome* , upon which *wilfrid* and all his adherents were solemnly excommunicated. But it is observable, that where *Wilfrid* speaks the most in his own vindication, he insists on these things as his great merits : *that he had been the great instrument of converting the Scots (and English following them) to the true Easter and the right Tonsure ; and that he had brought the Monks under the Rule of S. Benedict, which no man had brought among them before.* By which we see, that *wilfrid* (at least, in the Northern parts) was the first who brought in the *Benedictin Order*. Which passage *Eadmerus* a *Benedictin Monk* in the life of *wilfrid*, thought convenient to leave out, although he takes most of the rest out of *Heddius* ; and so doth *Fredegodus* in the rumbling Verses of his life, published lately by the *Benedictins of France* : but *William* of *Malmsbury* hath the very same words in effect of *wilfrid* ; *that he gloried that he had been the first who brought the Benedictin Order into those parts.* It is a strange objection of *Reyner* against this ;

Eadmer.
vit. wilfrid.
MS. in Bib-
lioth. Cot-
tou.

V. Scul. 3.
Benedict.
p. 221.

Malmsbur.
de gestis
Pontif.
Angl. l. 3.

this, *that he would not boast of doing it there, unless it had been every where else in England before his time*; for we have no mention at all of this *Rule* here before his *time*; and he might think he had cause to glory to begin that *Order* in the *North*, and to give an example to others: and if our Historians say true, he brought it into the *Midland* parts, for he had a great hand in the consecration of the *Abby* of *Evesham*, which *Pope Constantine* in his *Bull*, saith it was to be under the *Benedictin Rule*, *que minus in illis partibus adhuc habetur*, which is yet very little known in those parts. So that the coming in of the *Benedictin Order* into those parts of *England* is not a matter of so great obscurity as those Learned Persons supposed; and that some time after the death of *Augustin* and his *Companions*; but it hath been therefore thought so obscure, because only this Author, who was never yet printed, makes so express mention of it; the *Benedictins* afterwards thinking it made for their honour to conceal it.

Reyner.
A. of solat.
Ben dict.
tr. 1. (i. c. 1.
sect. 8.

11. sect. 11.
p. 39.
Monastic.
Anglican.
Tom. 1.
p. 144.

§. 6. The greatest difficulty seems to be about our *Church* of *Canterbury*, of which Mr. *Selden* saith, *that it was alwayes supposed to be of the Benedictin Order, from its first Foundation by Augustin.* For, saith he,

Selden. Net.
in Eadmer.
p. 215.

he, *since there were alwayes Monks there,* and no other Order named, we have reason to believe them to have been Benedictins; for the name of Monk being set without addition of Family, he supposes in the western parts to have implied a Benedictin, as in the Eastern one of S. Basils Order. Supposing this were granted of the latter times, after that the *Benedictin Order* prevailed in the times of *Dunstan*; when the *Concordia Regularis Anglicæ Nationis* was generally received after the Expulsion of the Canonical and Secular Clergy out of most *Cathedrals*; yet I can see no reason at all for it before, when there were so many different *Rules* of *Monks* both here and in *Italy* and *France*. All those who lived after the Monastick way, whether they lived by Rule, or only under the Government of a Superiour, had equally the name of *Monks* given to them. But of all sorts of *Monks* of that time, those whom *Augustin* brought with him, and were settled at *Canterbury*, seem to be the farthest from the *Benedictin Rule*; for any one that looks into that, will easily see that it was intended for *illiterate persons*, who were to imploy themselves in *work* when the Office of the *Choir* was over; and for such who lived at a *distance* from *Cities*, and consequently were to have all conveniencies within

within themselves, and all the Monks in their Course were to go through the Office of the Kitchin and such like : But those whom S. Gregory sent over with *Augustin* were *Clergy-men*, and to be constantly employed in preaching and other duties of their Function : and when *Augustin* sent to *Gregory* for directions (after he was made *Bishop*) how he should live among them ; *Gregory* takes not the least notice of the *Benedictin Rule*, which on such an occasion he would certainly have done , if they had been of that Order ; but only tells him, *he ought to live with his Clergie after the custom of the Primitive Church, which was to have all things in common.* From which it is very plain, that he considered them as *Clergy-men* ; who if they had been tyed to the *Benedictin Rule*, could have had very few hours of the day, either for study, or their other employments. Only he adviseth them *in the beginning of this Church to follow the pattern of the Church of Hierusalem, to live in a Community together :* Much after the same way which S. *Augustin* had brought into reputation in *Africa* among his *Clergie*, and who from thence in latter times were called *Canons Regular*. And which is very observable to our purpose, *Eugenius* the fourth in a *Bull* in behalf of

Bed. Hist.
l. 1. c. 27.

Pennot de
Canon l. 2.
c. 14.

Decretal.
Gregor. l. 3.
tit. 5. de
Præb. c.
relat.

Codex. Epi-
stol. MS.
l. 1. ep. 62.

Pennotti
Histor. Ti-
partit. de
Canon. Reg.
l. 1. c. 61.

the *Canons* of the *Lateran Church*, saith expressly, that *St. Gregory* commanded *Austin* to establish this Order in the *English Church*. And these *Canons* (without the first community) continued in the *Church* of *Canterbury*, long after the *Benedictin Monks* were brought into it. For I find as low as *Thomas Becket's* time, that *Alexander* the third writ to the *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury*, to make good his promise to one whom he had admitted *Canon* of that *Church*, and promised him the first *Præbend* that fell; from whence the *Gloss* of the *Canon Law* deduceth, that a man may be instituted *Canon* of a *Church*, and yet expect the next vacancy, supposing that he receives some profits though but small the mean while. And *Thomas Becket* mentions the *Præbends* of *Canterbury* that were vacant in one of his *MS. Epistles* to *Henry 2.* And that *Monks* and *Canons* have both continued in the same *Church*, is fully proved by *Pennottus*. If therefore I should grant, that the *Benedictin Monks* came early into that *Church*; yet that proves nothing as to the conversion of the *Nation* by them; for those were of the *Clergie* who were employ'd in that work; the *Monks* by the *Benedictin Rule* being so strictly tyed to the service of the *Choir*, as made them fit for ve-

ry little besides. I shall not therefore dispute with *Malmsbury* or Mr. *Selden*, whether *Alfric* were the first who brought in the Monks; or whether they were not settled by *Boniface* in the time of *Laurentius*: but this I insist upon, that whereas by that constitution of *Boniface*, the *Clergie* of that Church were required to associate to them a *Company of Monks*; in all probability it was intended for this purpose, that while the others were imployed in other duties of their Function, the *Monks* might be ready to attend the service of the *Choire*: and yet neither *Boniface* nor *Gregory* ever call them by the name of *Benedictin Monks*; or so much as once mention that *Rule* in all the affairs relating to the *Saxon Church*: which will seem very strange, considering its Novelty at that time, and what small reputation it was in, either in *France*, or *Italy*. And however *Wilfrid*, or *Benedict Biscop* might in some particular Monasteries introduce the *Benedictin Rule*; yet as that Learned Gentleman Sr. *John Marsham* hath observed, there is no General Constitution prescribing it, before the Council of *Winchester* under *Dunstan*, A. D. 965. and then it was not the pure *Benedictin Rule*, but a *Collection of antient Customs* accommodated to that *Rule*; as will easily appear to any

Malmsburi.
de gst.
Pontif. l. i.

Prefat. ad
Sec. I. Bene-
dict. p. 43.

Propulæ. ad
Monast.
Anglican.

Reynr. Ap-
pend. part. 3.
p. 77.

Prefat. Be-
ned. n. 89.]

that will compare the *Rule* and that *Concordia Regularis* together; not as it was imperfectly published by Mr. *Selden*, but as it is extant entire in *Reyners Appendix*. Methinks so great a zealot, as *Dunstan* was for the *Benedictin Order*, should not have continued the *old Customs* together with that *Rule*, if he had been of Mr. *Cressy's* mind, in believing it to have been written by *Divine Inspiration*: nay, *Wilfrid* and *Benedict Biscop*, were not for the *pure Benedictin Rule*; for the former, some say, joyned the *Gregorian Office* with it, and the latter declares expresly, *that he had gathered his Rule out of the Customs of seventeen Monasteries*: which was a very vain and fruitless labour, if he had thought *S. Benedict* writ his *Rule* by the *Inspiration of the Holy Ghost*.

Prefat. Be-
ned. ad
sec. I. f. 8.

The *French Benedictins* who have lately undertaken to prove that *the Benedictins converted England*, do suppose, without reason, that since by the *Constitution of Boniface* it appears *that there were Monks very early in the Church of Canterbury*, they must be either *Equitian* or *Benedictin Monks*; we meddle not with *Equitian Monks*, which our learned *Antiquaries* upon good grounds say, *they meet with no footsteps of in our Records*: that was a particular

ticular conceit of *Baronius*, and was quitted by his defender *Gallonius*; but we say, that in *Italy* at that time, there were several institutions of *Monks* different from those of *S. Equitius* and *S. Benedict*. For every Person who affected that kind of Life, and was able to found a Monastery, gave such *Rules* to it, as he thought fit. Some were first instituted for *devotion and labour*, as it is plain the *Benedictin* Order was, by the Rule of it; others for *devotion and study*, as it is evident those of *Cassiodore* were, by the occasion of them, and the Counsel he gives them; others for those of the *Clergy* to live together after a *Monastick* way; of which sort *Penottus* shews there were many in *Italy* at that time, after the bringing over that Order from *Africa* by *Gelasius* Son of *Valerius* a Bishop of *Africa*, who had been one of *S. Augustins* Disciples. Now there being so many several wayes and designs of a *Monastick* Life at that time, it can by no means be sufficient to prove the ancient *Monks* of *Canterbury* mentioned by *Boniface* to have been *Benedictins*, because they were not *Equitians*; and if we suppose them to have been Monks joyned to the *Canonical Clergy* at *Canterbury* for attendance on the *Choir*, as the *Benedictin Monks* were to the *Canons* of the *Lateran*

Cassiod. Divin. lect. prefat. c. 32.

Pennot. de Canonic. Regular. l. 2 c. 14, 15, &c.

Church after the destruction of the *Monastery of Cassino* ; yet this is far enough from proving that *Augustin* or the *preaching Monks* were of that *Order* ; which it is their design to prove. And themselves suggest that concerning the *Council of Boniface* when *Mellitus* was at *Rome*, which affords us a good argument against them ; viz. that when *Mellitus* was sent to *Rome*, about the affairs of the *English Church*, they confess that a dispute was raised about the *Benedictin Monks* whether they were capable of *Priesthood* or no ? But what likelihood was there that should have been ever called in Question at *Rome*, if it had been a thing so notorious that *Gregory* and *Augustin* and his *Companions* were of that *Order*, and had born the office of *Priesthood* ? Who durst have questioned it, after that *S. Gregory* had declared it not only by his example, but by the *Mission* of *Austin* and his *Brethren* hither to Preach and do all *Priestly* offices ? But the ground of the Question was not for the *Monks* bred up to *Learning*, as those of *S. Gregories* own *Monastery* were, out of which *Austin* and his *Brethren* came ; but for those who were bred up only to *devotion* and *Labour*, as those of the *Benedictin Order* must be by their *Rule* ; as to which it might very well bear a dispute, since

Two part. 7.
c. 22.

since their time was to be otherwise employed; and all that *Pope Boniface had to say was, that S. Benedict doth nowhere forbid it*; but withall by his *Rule* he gives such directions that no man can observe them, as every one swears to do, and perform the necessary duties of the *Priestly Office* together. The testimony of *Johannes Diaconus* hath been long since answered by *Gallonius*, who hath shewed him to be a very incompetent witness in this matter. But they have not at all taken notice of the *Testimony* of *Malmsbury*, who saith, *that the Benedictin Order came into England from the Abby of Fleury; being brought hither by Oswald; who had been a Monk there, not long before the Council of Winchester*; which first made any establishment of it here. I do not then deny, that this *Order* was introduced by a particular devotion of some persons in some few places before; to which the testimonies of *Wilfrid*, *Benedict Biscop*, and *Aldelmus* refer; but the general reception of it was not before the times of *Dunstan*; and with what confusions and disorders, with what severities, and injustice to the Canonical and Secular Clergy it was then established, may be easily seen in our Histories. For *Dunstan*, *Oswald*, and *Ethelwald* set themselves

*Gallon. Re-
spo s. ad
Monach.
Beaed. p.
108, 109.
Malmsbur.
de gestis
Pontific. l.
3. p. 153.*

with all their power, (which was great by the Favour of *King Edgar*) to drive out the *Canons* out of the *Cathedral Churches* belonging to them, and to bring in the *Monks* in their Rooms: and other *Bishops* thought it a good way to preferment to follow their example. And from hence forward the *Benedictin Monks* kept the possession not only of the greater *Monasteries*, but of several of the *Cathedral Churches*, contrary to the design of their Rule, if the *Cistercian Abbots* may be believed, who declare their Resolution to keep to the *Benedictin Rule*, and therefore would wholly withdraw from *Cities*, and have nothing to do in *Churches*, that so they might live retired, not upon the profits of *Churches*, but upon their own stock and industry, according to the intention of their Rule. And that this Resolution of the *Cistercians* was most agreeable to the *Benedictin Rule*, is declared by the many *Bulls* of *Popes* which are extant for the confirmation of the *Cistercian Order*, or rather *Reformation* of the *Benedictin*, according to the first design and letter of their Rule.

Exord.
Cænob. Cist.
c. 15. in
Biblioth.
Cisterc.
To. I.

Regula,
Constitut.
& Privi-
legia Ordin.
Cisterc. à
Chrysost.
Henriquez.

§. 7. Thus far Mr. Cressy's resolution to stand to it, that Christianity was established in England by the Disciples of S. Benedict, hath

hath drawn me to the Discourse of the *means* and *Persons* by which *England* was converted; but it may be after all this he may find out a reserve to himself, viz. *that he did not mean it of the first knowledge of Christianity, but of the firm settlement of it*: But neither can this be his meaning, nor if it were, is it any truer than the former. It cannot be his meaning, for his words are, *that the English Saxons were indeed converted by the Disciples of S. Benedict*, by which it is plain he speaks of the first *Conversion*; but suppose he did not, the *establishment or settlement of Christianity* is no more owing to the *Benedictins* than the first *Conversion* of the *Nation*. For which we are to consider, that a sudden *Apostasie* soon happened to *Paganism* after the death of the first *Princes* who professed *Christianity*. For *Eadbald King of Kent, Son to Ethelbert* revolted from it; but he soon repented his *Apostasie* and sent for *Mellitus* and *Justus* out of *France* again; but the state of *Christianity* remained more desperate in the *Eastern* parts after the death of *Sebert*, and the *Apostasie* of his Sons: and although some hopes appeared by the *Conversion* of *Erpenwald*, yet his death happening soon after, things were as bad as ever, till the return of *Sigebert* out of *France*,

Bed. l. 2.
c. 6.

L. 2. c. 18.

L. 3. c. 18.

- France, who brought *Felix* a *Burgundian Priest* with him, who was the great instrument of restoring Christianity in those parts. Among the *West Saxons* *Birinus* was the first Preacher of Christianity, but he was so far from being a *Benedictin*, that
- Church h^{ist}.*
L. 15. c. 4.
n. 9.
Bede. l. 3. c. 1. Mr. *Cressy* himself confesseth, that he was not by profession a *Monk*. In the *Northern parts*, after the revolt of the Sons of *Edwin*, Christianity was wholly restored in the time of *King Oswald* by the *Scottish Christians*, among whom himself was Converted and Baptized. *Bede* at large relates the coming of *Aidanus* and his excellent piety, zeal, and charity ; whose good example many others followed, till by great diligence in preaching and an excellent conversation, they had settled Christianity much more firmly than ever : and from thence Christianity was conveyed into the
- C. 3. Middle parts of England in the time of *Peada* by *Finanus* ; who carried with him four Priests, *Cedda*, and *Adda*, and *Betti*, and *Diuma*, whereof the last was a *Scot*, and the other *English* : this *Diuma* was made *Bishop* and consecrated by *Finanus* : after him succeeded *Ceolla* a *Scot* too : after him *Trumhere*, consecrated by the *Scots* ; after him *Jaruman*, after him *Ceadda*. At
- L. 3. c. 22. the same time, saith *Bede*, the *East Saxons* with

recovered the Christian faith by the endeavours of King Olwi of Northumberland with their King Sigbert: who was likewise Baptized by Finan, and he consecrated Cedda, to be their Bishop. By which we see that when Christianity was settled and established in England, how much more it was owing to the piety and care of the Scottish Christians, than to the Roman Missionaries; for all the Northern parts, the Midland and East Saxons were throughly converted by them; the East Angles by Felix a Burgundian; the West Saxons by Birinus one sent from Rome, but no Monk; and only the parts of Kent by the Roman Monks, but not Benedictins. And hath not Mr. Cr. now very great reason to stand to this assertion, That the English Saxons were converted to Christianity by Benedictin Monks?

§. 8. But it may be yet, Mr. Cressy thinks *they were never true Christians till they had received the Roman customes: and that the honour of making them good Catholick Christians belonged to the Benedictins, or at least to the Roman Missionaries.* For all that I can find, they were very good Christians in Mr. Cressy's esteem, but only in the customes wherein they differed from the Roman Church.

For

church hist.
l. 16. c. 18.
x. 12.

For Mr. Cressy confesseth that the Scots, Picts, and Britains in all matters of faith agreed with the Saxon, that is the Roman Church: but it is plain withall that the great zealot for the Church of Rome, Wilfrid, refused to receive Orders among them and gives this as the reason of it, because the Apostolical See did not allow them communion with it; for speaking of the Brittish and Scottish Bishops, he saith, *quos nec Apostolica sedes in communionem recepit, nec eos qui Schismaticis consentiunt*: it seems then the Brittish and Scottish Churches stood excommunicated at that time by the Church of Rome; and therefore he desires to go into France, *ut sine controversia Apostolicæ sedis, licet indignus, gradum Episcopalem merear accipere*; so that the Pope would neither allow their Churches nor their Ordinations. So William of Malmsbury saith, that he would neither be ordained by the Scottish Bishops, nor by any ordained by them, because the Apostolical See had rejected their Communion. But what was it I beseech Mr. Cressy, that unchurch-ed the Brittish and Scottish Christians, and nulled their Ordinations, and made them deserve excommunication? why, forsooth, they had not the right tonsure among them, and they did not keep Easter on the right Sunday;

Steph. Heid.
vii. S. Wil-
frid. s. 12.

Malmsb r.
de gestis
Pontif.
Angl. l. 3.

Sunday ; these are all the material differences Mr. *Cressy* will allow, for the causes of so much severity. But doth Mr. *Cressy* in good earnest think, that these are of weight enough to *unchurch* whole Nations, and null their *Ordinations* ? Mr. *Cressy* hath very learnedly set forth the state of the Controversie about *Tonsure* ; and he tells us, *there were three several kinds of Tonsure ; the first was called S. Peters, which was shaving the top of the head, leaving below toward the forehead and ears a circle or Diadem representing the Crown of Thorns which our Lord bore : the second was S. Pauls which was either a total shaving or at least close polling of the whole head : the third was called Simon Magus his Tonsure, by which only a half crown was formed on the lower part of the head before, from one ear to the other, all the rest of the hair being left at full length : Now saith Mr. Cressy, the present dispute was, whether S. Peters manner of Tonsure in use at Rome was to be only received in Brittany ? A very weighty Controversie I confess ; and very fit for the Head of the Church to be so much concerned in ; for so Mr. C. tells us, that the Popes of this Age took care, that S. Peters Tonsure should be only received in Brittany. And was there not great reason for it, since*

Church hist.
l. 16. c. 18.
n. 2, 3, &c.

N. 6.

N. 7.

it

it was to be a *mark* of their *slavery* to the *Roman See*? Good Lord! that ever men should pretend to take *care* of *Souls* and excommunicate whole *Churches* for not having the right fashion of *shaving* their *heads*! Could they ever believe that *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* were so concerned whether mens hair was cut in the form of a *Crown*, or all off? No, they say, that *Circumcision* is nothing and *Uncircumcision* is nothing; but it seems the fashion of *shaving* is a very great matter.

But I suppose the weight of the business lay in the keeping of *Easter* on a different *Sunday* from the *Church* of *Rome*: Mr. *Cressy* pretends to some skill in this matter, and undertakes to correct many mistakes of *Protestants* about it: and therefore to prevent any needless quarrels I will take the *Controversie* as Mr. *Cr.* himself states it, and then see what can be made of it against the *Brittish* and *Scottish Churches* and the *English* which followed their example. *The error of the Brittain's* saith he, (and consequently of the rest) consisted not as generally Protestant writers conceive, in conforming to the *Asiatick manner* of the *Quartodecimani*, who kept their *Easter* alwayes the same day with the *Jews*, whether it were *Sunday* or not; but they made
their

ch w b hist.
l. 13. c. 18.
n. 11.

their computation from the fourteenth of the Moon to the one and twenty, by which means it came to pass, that if the fourteenth of the Moon proved to be a Sunday, the Jews and Britains once in seven years would observe their Paschal solemnity together ; which was contrary to the Universal practice of the Church, and utterly forbidden by the first General Council of Nicea. And a little before, he saith, that to distinguish the Christian Pasch from the shadow of a Jewish observation, they ordained that it should be solemnized only on a Sunday, yet not that on which the fourteenth day of the Moon fell, but the Sunday following, and therefore counted alwayes from the 15 to the 21, excluding the day of the Jewish Pasch ; which, he saith, was to be celebrated exactly on the fourteenth day of the first Moon after the Vernal Equinox on what day of the week soever it fell. For Mr. Cressy's satisfaction, or rather for the vindication of the British, and Scottish Churches and the English which followed them, I shall enquire into two things.

1. The true state of the Controversie.
2. Whether the Roman Emissaries either then had, or now have reason to charge them with contradicting the Universal practice

practice of the Church, or the decree of the Council of Nice?

§. 9. 1. For the *state* of the *Controversie*; we must consider, what they were charged with by their enemies, and what they had to say for themselves. *Bede*, where he first mentions it, gives this account of it; *that they did not keep the Sunday of Easter in its own time, for they reckoned from the fourteenth of the Moon to the twentieth: which computation, saith he, is contained in a Cycle of eighty four years: Stephanus Heddius saith, from the fourteenth to the two and twentieth; but that is a mistake. Pope Honorius charges them, with contradicting the practice of the Universal Church, and the decrees of general Councils. Pope John who succeeded Severinus next after Honorius, charges them, with renewing an old heresie, and keeping Easter with the Jews; and all was, saith Bede, because they did not reckon the Easter Sunday from the fifteenth to the one and twentieth, according to what was approved in the Council of Nice. Those that came out of Kent and Gaul, saith Bede, charged the Scots that they kept the Easter Sunday contrary to the practice of the Universal Church:*

*Bed. Hist.
Eccles. l. 2.
c. 2.*

*Vit. S. Wil-
frid. c. 10.*

*Bed. l. 2.
c. 19.*

L. 3. c. 25.

Church: from this different practice, saith Bede, it sometimes happened, that two Easters were kept in a year, and that which was Easter day to the one was Palm-Sunday to the other: And after Naiton King of the Picts had embraced the then Roman custom of keeping Easter, to shew to all the people the change he had made, he removed the Cycle of eighty four years, and set up that of nineteen. So that the true state of the whole Controversie between them was no more but this, whether the old Roman Cycle of eighty four should continue, or the Alexandrian Cycle of nineteen be followed? But the Combatants on both sides talked like men that did not understand the matter they were so hot about: however Colman pleaded, for their adhering to the ancient Tradition of their Church in this matter, and that they had no reason to hearken to any innovation by whomsoever introduced; for supposing the greatest inconvenience that could happen, that they should celebrate Easter on the fourteenth together with the Jews, yet herein they had the example of the Apostle S. John, and those who were inspired by the Holy Ghost; and we, (as Polycarp and others) are not ashamed to follow their example, and therefore we dare not and will not change our custom.

L. 5. c. 22.

Steph. Hed.
vii. wilfrid.
c. 10.

Fredegod.
vit Wilfrid.
p. 176.

Fredegodus makes Colman add further, that they had not only constant tradition for it, but that it was left in charge by S. John and his Disciples that if the Sunday fell on the fourteenth, they should keep their Easter on that day : and so much Heddius saith too; Patres nostri & antecessores eorum manifeste Spiritu Sancto inspirati ut erat Columcille 14 Luna die Dominicâ Pascha celebrandum sanxerunt.

Eadmer.
vit. Wilfrid.
n. 15.

Eadmerus makes the command to come from S. John himself in those Churches which were under his care ; which practice, saith Colman, hath been delivered down to us by an uninterrupted succession of holy and prudent men, and hath been inviolably observ'd hitherto, and therefore ought to be so still. What could those of the Church of Rome desire more, than they bring for this practice ? Nay, I. S. would have told them, the Popes infallibility was not to be compared to that of Oral Tradition : what certainty, would he say, could they have had of any thing if they rejected such evidence as this ? But it seems this kind of Tradition was not valued so much then, no nor any thing else when it opposes their interests. It was not this or that day, was, in truth, the occasion of the dispute, but the poor Brittish and Scottish Christians must submit to the present Roman Church, and

and do as they would have them. *Beda* Bed. hist. l. 3. c. 4. saith expressely, *that they did not comply with the Jews as to the day of the week; but ignorantly and by following uncertain Cycles they mistook in the certain Sunday; being men of very great devotion and goodnes, and learning only what was contained in the writings of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles; but, be that as it would, no favour was to be shewed them without present compliance; and for this purpose wilfrid was an excellent instrument.* Who begins, in *Bede*, his answer to *Colman* by saying, *the Easter we observe, we saw observed at Rome by all persons where Peter and Paul lived, and taught, and suffered, and were buried; the same, saith he, is observed in Italy, and Gaul, in Africa, Asia, Egypt and Greece, and all the world over, except these obstinate Britains and Picts.* Very confidently said! how truly will be seen afterwards. However he confesses, *that S. Johns practice was agreeable to theirs: but S. Peter when he Preached at Rome (there is the Emphasis of it) appointed otherwise, that it should be kept on the Sunday that did fall between the fifteenth and one and twentieth.* It seems *S. Peter* and *S. John* differed as much about *Easter*, as *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* did about *Tonsure*.

And this, saith he, all the Churches of Asia after S. Johns death and his successours observed (it seems his Authority vanished at his death) and the whole Church, which was not first decreed but confirmed by the Council of Nice. What prodigious ignorance and confidence is here joyned together ! as will appear presently. Colman asked him, what he thought of Anatolius a man much commended in Ecclesiastical history, who declared that the Sunday was to be taken from the fourteenth to the twentieth. wilfrid tells him, they did not understand him (no more than himself) ; and as to their Ancestors he was willing to think charitably of them, and hoped that the keeping Easter on a wrong day would not damn them, as long as they had no better information. But, saith he, for You and Your Companions, if you refuse to obey the Decrees of the Apostolical See, yea of the Universal Church, confirmed by Scripture, without all doubt you sin in it. For, saith he, our Lord hath said, Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c. This I confess is home to the business; although the Saxon Homilies with no less than malignant ingratitude understood the Rock of Christ himself and the faith which Peter confessed ; but however wilfrid made such a noise

noise with *S. Peters Keyes*; that the good King *Ofwi* verily believing that he kept *Heaven-gates* told them all plainly, *that for his part he would follow S. Peter, for fear he should shut Heaven-gates against him when he came thither*: and we may be sure the people could not but be mightily moved with this: by which means *Wilfrid* prevailed and *Colman* was forced to retire from his *Bishoprick*. *Steph. Heddius* adds only farther, *that Wilfrid insisted on this, that the Nicene Fathers had appointed the Cycle of nineteen, by which they could never keep Easter on the fourteenth, and that an Anathema was pronounced against those who should keep it otherwise*. Thus far we have an account of the *State* of the *Controversie*, from the parties engaged in it.

*Steph.
Heddius. vit.
Wilfr. c. 10.*

§. 10. 2. Let us now see what reason there was for charging the *Brittish* and *Scottish* Christians with opposing the practice of the *Universal Church*, and the *Decrees* of the *Council of Nice* in reckoning the *Easter Sunday* from the *fourteenth* to the *twentieth*, and not (as the *Roman Missionaries* would have them) from the *fifteenth* to the *one and twentieth*. I shall therefore now shew, that if they were guilty of an error or *heresie* in so doing, (so *Petavius* calls

*Petav. anti-
walterj ad
heres. 51.
Epiphani.*

it *in signis error, imo hæresis Scotorum*) not only the *Apostles* and their *Disciples*, but the *Roman Church* it self was guilty of as great. The great ignorance which *wilfrid* and the rest of the *zealots* for the *Roman customs* betrayed, lay in this, that what they saw practised in their time at *Rome*, they supposed to have been alwayes observed there, and that it came from a command of *S. Peter*, that the day of *Easter* should be observed as it was then in the *Roman Church*; whereas there was nothing like any *Apostolical Precept* for it, and the *Church of Rome* it self had but lately embraced the *Alexandrian Cycle*, which *wilfrid* would with so much Authority have inforced upon the poor *Scottish Christians*. In the beginning of Christianity nothing was looked on with greater indifferency than the anniversary day of the *Christian Pasch*; thence came so different customs among several Churches; the Churches of *Asia*, properly so called, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia* and *Cilicia*, observed it on what day of the *Week* soever it fell; as any one that knows any thing of Ecclesiastical History understands: For as *S. Chrysostom* saith, they did not believe that any one should be called to account that he observed the *Pasch* in this or that moneth: For they had neither the leisure nor the curiosity

*Athanas. de
Synod. &
ad African.
ep.*

*Chrysost.
Tom. 6. p.
382.*

riosity to examine the *Cycles* then in use by the rules of *Astronomy*; but took them as they found them among the *Jews* without comparing them with the heavenly Bodies. Now there were two things observed by the *Jews* for finding out the dayes of *Passeover*, viz. the *beginning* and *ending* of the *first month*; and the fourteenth *day* of the *Moon*, on the evening of which they were to begin their *Passeover*; and these two were observed by all Christians in the beginning of the Christian Church till towards the end of the second Century, according to the *Jewish Cycle*, which was of eighty four years, as *Epiphanius* tells us; which although it were not exact according to the motions of the Heavens, yet that was not thought a sufficient ground for the alteration of it. Yea, *Epiphanius* mentions an *Apostolical Constitution* (quite different from what is now extant in the *Book* that goes under the name of *Apostolical Constitutions*) wherein Christians are commanded not to trouble themselves with calculations, but that they should keep the Feast at the same time with the Brethren that came out of the circumcision, although they were mistaken (in their calculations) : not with those that remain in the circumcision, but with those that came out of it, saith *Epiphanius*, which he under-

*Epiphan.
har. 51.*

*Epiphan.
har 70.*

Petav. xi-
mad. in he-
ref. 70.

Usser. Pro-
legom. ad
Epist. Ignat.
c. 2.

stands of the *Bishops of Jerusalem*, fifteen of which continued to *A. D. 136.* till towards the end of the Empire of *Hadrian*, at which time *Marcus* was the first *Bishop* that was made of the *Gentiles*. *Petavius* knows not what to make of this constitution, for by it, he supposes the *Christians* were obliged to keep *Easter* with the *Jews* on the fourteenth day; for he takes it for granted, that the *Bishops of Hierusalem* did so: as he confesses some of the *Apostles* did; but the Learned *Primat of Armagh*, thinks *Petavius* mistaken in this, because although they did then follow the *Jewish* computation, yet he supposes that they did keep *Easter* not with the *Jews* on what day of the Week soever it fell, but on the *Sunday* in honour of our *Saviours* resurrection. And it cannot be denyed, that *Narcissus Bishop of Hierusalem* and *Theophilus of Casarea*, with *Cassius of Tyre* and *Clarus of Ptolemais*, do in their *Synodical Epistle* declare, that they agreed with the *Church of Alexandria*, viz. in keeping it on the *Lords day*, and that this had been the constant practice of the *Church of Hierusalem*. And it is plain *Epiphanius* understood it so, or else it was to no purpose to distinguish in this matter, those who remained in the *circumcision*, and those which came out of it. But notwithstanding these

these *Churches* and the *western* did observe the *Lords day* for the *Paschal feast*, yet in the way of reckoning it, they did observe the *Jewish computation*, both as to the *Age* of the *Moon* and the *Vernal Æquinox*. For although *Constantin* in his Letter doth upbraid the *Jews*, that they kept their *Pasch*, before the *Æquinox* (which was then rightly fixed on *March 21.*) yet we are to understand it of the *Astronomical Æquinox*, and not of that which was in popular use among them, which might anticipate the other about three dayes, (because according to their beginning the month *Nisan* from *March 5.* the fourteenth of the *Moon* might fall on the eighteenth day, and so their *Passcover* be kept three dayes before the *Æquinox* at the time of the *Nicene Council.*) For, as *Clavius* observes, God doth not tie his Church to the subtleties of *Astronomical Calculations*, but to the common judgement of sense, in which the *Æquinox* hath the latitude of four dayes with us, and as many more in those more *Southern* parts. The like liberty was used in the *Christian Church* before the *Nicene Council*: for in the *Council of Casarea*, they do allow the celebration of *Easter* before the *Æquinox*, which they then supposed to be *March 25.* and yet they reckon three dayes before that
among

Clav. Ca-
lendar. Gre-
gor. c. 4.
sect. 7.

B. d. oper.
Tom. 2.
sub tit. de
Vernali
Æquino-
ctio.

among those on which the *Paschal Sunday* might fall ; as appears by the *Epistle* of one *Philippus*, about the *Council* of *Cæsarea*, extant in the *Works* of *Bede* ; wherein, he saith, *that after the Resurrection or Ascension of our Saviour, the Apostles being dispersed abroad, and employed in preaching the Gospel, could appoint nothing concerning the Paschal Feast ; but did observe it on the fourteenth of the Moon what day soever it fell upon.* (Thus far sure the *Brittish* and *Scottish* Christians were no *Hereticks* in doing as the *Apostles* did) But after, saith he, *the Apostles were gone, the Christian Churches observed different customs, both as to Paschal Fast and Feast ; upon which by the direction of Pope Victor a Council was called at Cæsarea for settling the way of keeping Easter ; where after they have fixed the Æquinox on the eighth of the 5. Kal. of April, they determined that the three dayes before should be taken within the Paschal limits ;* (so that the *Sunday* for *Easter* might be reckoned on any day from the 11. Kal. of April to the 11. Kal. of May, viz. from the two and twentieth of *March* to the one and twentieth of *April* inclusive ; and withal they add, *that it should not be lawful for any to exceed these limits.* And yet afterwards these limits were so far exceeded,

ceeded, that the *Latin Church* in *Leo's* time made the *Cycle* of the *Paschal Sundayes* to consist of thirty three dayes; and the *Alexandrian Cycle* took in two dayes more, *viz.* the twenty fourth and twenty fifth of *April*, because they found the former limits too strait, unless they were understood of the *πίχα σωσῶστων* as they called it, *i. e.* that the anniversary day of our Saviours *passion* should alwayes fall between the two and twentieth of *March* and one and twentieth of *April*.

§. 11. The first person who published a *Paschal Canon* was *Hippolytus Bishop* of *Porto*, *A. D.* 222. above an hundred years before the Council of *Nice*, which was found *A. D.* 451. and set forth by *Scaliger* with *Notes* upon it, in which *Canon* he makes the nearest *Paschal Sunday* to be the sixteenth of the *Moon* which is *March* 20. beginning the Lunar Month *March* 5. which is one day before the *Nicene Equinox*, and five before that of *Cæsarea*: and in which he reckons the *Paschal Sundayes* not from the fifteenth to the one and twentieth, but from the sixteenth to the two and twentieth. By which we may easily see, what reason *wilfrid* had to make the then practice of the *Roman Church* to have been the Universal practice of the Christian Church: for the
two

*Ensch. l. 7.
c. 20.*

*Æyd. Bucher. de
doctr. Tem-
por. p. 464.*

two fundamentals of the Rule then in use were, that the *Paschal Sunday* should be reckoned from the fifteenth to the one and twentieth, and that it should never be before the *Æquinox*. The first we meet with who laid down this Rule about the *Æquinox*, was *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who sat there from *A.D. 247.* to *A. D. 264.* wherein he was followed by *Anatolius Bishop* of *Laodicea*, who would by no means have the *Paschal Sunday* observed before the *Æquinox*, which he following *Sosigenes* supposed to be *March 25.* but made the first *Easter* day to be *March 27.* But that which is most observable in him to our purpose, is, that he reckoned neither as the *Latins* from the sixteenth to the two and twentieth, nor as the *Alexandrians* from the fifteenth to the one and twentieth, but from the fourteenth to the twentieth, just as the *Brittish* and *Scottish* Churches did, as appears by the second, fifth and eighteenth of his *Cycle* published out of *MSS.* by *Ægidius Bucherius* with learned Annotations, and so makes no scruple at all of that, which *Wilfrid* and *Bede* made such a great matter of, viz. of keeping *Easter* day upon the fourteenth, and therein complying with those notable *Hereticks* called the *Quartodecimani*. But *Anatolius*, in the Preface to his *Canon*, was so far

far from supposing an universal consent of the *Church* in his time, that he complains of very different and contrary *Cycles* that were then in *Use*, some following *Hippolytus* his *Cycle* of sixteen; others the *Jewish Cycle* of eighty four; others a *Cycle* of twenty five; others of thirty; and he mentions the endeavours of *Isidore*, *Hierom*, *Clement* and *Origen*, all of *Ægypt*, to compose this matter. But notwithstanding all the care used to settle this Controversie, the breaches of the Church continued about it; and if we believe *Hen. Valesius*, the inhabitants of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* had espoused the celebrating *Easter* on the fourteenth day, not long before the *Council* of *Nice*.

*Vales. not. in
Euseb. l. 5.
c. 23.*

But what differences soever happened before the *Council* of *Nice*, was not an uniform practice settled by the decree of it, and all Churches obliged to reckon the *Paschal Sunday* from the fifteenth to the twentyfirst, and consequently the *Brittish* and *Scottish Churches* were guilty of opposing the Universal practice of the Church at least after the *Council* of *Nice*: This is all the pretence that I know can be left in this matter; but neither was this decreed in the *Council* of *Nice*; nor if it were, was it universally observed after it. A *Synodical Epistle* was sent out after the ending of the Council,

Council, which I suppose was the same with that of *Constantin* ; wherein all Christians are dissuaded from compliance with the Jews, and earnestly exhorted to an agreement upon one day, and the lesser part to submit to the practice of the greater : but no limits are set, no Cycle established by the decree of the Council. For although *Dionysius Exiguus* who brought in the *Alexandrian Cycle* into the *Latin Church*, would have it believed, that herein he followed the *Nicene Fathers* ; yet *Ægidius Bucherius* a learned Jesuit, hath fully proved, that no Cycle or certain Rule was at all appointed by the Council of *Nice* : although soon after he confesses the Cycle of 19. was found out, (as he probably thinks, by *Eusebius of Casarea*) and afterwards perfected by *Theophilus of Alexandria*, in the time of *Theodosius the elder*. But if the *Alexandrian Cycle* had been determined in the Council of *Nice*, how comes it to be omitted in the *Kalendarium Romanum* published by *Herwart*, which he saith, was set forth the very year of the *Nicene Council A. D. 325*. wherein though there are *Dominical Letters*, yet there are no *Golden Numbers* : (but if he were mistaken in the time, and it came forth in the Reign of *Constantius*, the argument will still hold). And if there

Euseb. vit.
Constant. l. 3
c. 18, 19.

Dionys.
Exigui cp.
prima in
Append.
Bucherii
p. 485.
Bucher.
Commentar
in Victorii
Canon.
Palch. c. 3.
c. 6.

V. Euseb.
vit. Const.
l. 4. c. 34.

there were so universal a consent in the practice of the Church after, how came it to pass that S. Cyrill of *Alexandria* in his *Paschal Epistle* saith, *there was so much confusion in the account of Easter, in the Church, the Camp, and the Palace?* how came *Theodosius* to send so earnestly to *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* about it? But above all, whence came such mighty differences between the *Eastern* and *Western Churches* about *Easter*, long after the *Council of Nice?* of which a full account is given by the two learned Jesuits, *Petavius* and *Bucherius*: which latter hath at large proved that the *Latin Church* did still proceed according to the *Jewish cycle* of eighty four, and not according to the *Alexandrian* of nineteen, and that they reckoned not from fifteen to twenty one, but from sixteen to twenty two: from whence arose those hot contests about the right *Easter* between the *Bishops* of *Rome* and *Alexandria*; especially in the time of *Leo* in the years 444. and 455. And *Paschasius* in his *Epistle* to *Leo* about the former *Easter*, mentions the *Romana Supputatio*, as distinct from that of *Alexandria*, and as the occasion of the Dispute. In *A.D.* 455. there were eight dayes difference between the *Easter* at *Rome* and at *Alexandria*, which caused great disputes, as may be

Cyrrill. Epist.
in *Append.*
Bucherii
p. 482.

Petav.
Doctr. Tem.
l. 2. c. 63.
p. 531.
Buch. doct.
Temp. c. 4,
5, 6.

Paschasii
Ep. Leon. I.
inter *Ep.*
Leon. 63.

Leo Ep. 64,
65. be seen in the Letters of *Leo* to *Martianus*
Prosper. and *Eudocia*; and the answer of *Proterius*
Chron. A. Bishop of *Alexandria*; of which *Prosper* in
455. his *Chronicon* saith, that although the *La-*
tin Church did submit for peace sake, yet
Prosper. that it was in the right, and such an ex-
Chronic. ample ought not to be followed: and the
A. D. 46, same *Prosper* doth often mention the *Cycle* of
130, 214, eighty four, as that which the *Latin Church*
298, 382. did make use of at that time. But this be-
V. Bucher. ing found too short and insufficient, *Victo-*
Comment. in rius was imployed to frame a new *Paschal*
Victorii Canon fitted to the use of the *Latin Church*;
Canon. Pas- wherein, although he differed from the old
chal. p. 9. *Latin calculation* in the beginning of the
Lunar month, yet he proceeded still in the
old way of reckoning from sixteen to twenty
two. *Victorius* writ his *Paschal Canon*
A. D. 457. to *Hilarus Arch-deacon* of *Rome*
who succeeded *Leo*; and it appears that the
occasion of writing it, was from the differ-
ence between the *Alexandrian* and *Roman*
Church in the computation of *Easter*; So
Hilarus confesses in his *Epistle* to *Victo-*
Victor. rius: and *Victorius* shews wherein the dif-
Prolog. ad ference lay, viz. in three things: the *Alexan-*
Can. n. 3, 4, drians began their *Paschal month* from
5. *March 8.* and reckoned it to *April 5.* inclu-
sive; the *Roman Church* from *March 5.* inclu-
sive

clusive to *April 3.* exclusive. The *Alexandrians* reckoned the fourteenth Moon from *March 21.* to *April 18.* the *Romans* from *March 18.* to *April 15.* inclusive. The *Alexandrians* reckoned the *Paschal Sunday* from the fifteenth inclusive to the one and twentieth. The *Roman Church* from the sixteenth to the two and twentieth. Now *Victorius* thought by his *Canon* to accommodate the difference between the two Churches embracing the *Alexandrian Cycle* of nineteen, as more certain than the old *Latin* one of eighty four, but agreeing with the *Latins* in reckoning from sixteen to two and twenty; and yet according to his *Canon*, the *Easter* sometimes differed eight dayes from that kept at *Alexandria*: and sometimes it fell a month later than it did according to the former *Latin computation*. But this *Canon* of *Victorius* gave no satisfaction either to the *Eastern* or *Western Church*; all the *Eastern Church* followed the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, and the *Church* of *Milan* in the *west*, from the time of *S. Ambrose* as appears by his *Epistle* to the *Bishops* of *Æmilia*: *Victor Bishop* of *Capua* writ against *Victorius* his *Canon*, *A. D.* 550. upon a new controversie risen in the *Church* about *Easter day*; but this was twenty five years after *Dionysius Exiguus* had brought

*Bucher. Com.
mentar.
c. 8, 9.*

*Ambros. ep.
83.*

the *Alexandrian Canon* into the use of the *Roman Church*, which was *A. D. 525*. After which time it did by degrees prevail in the *Western parts*; but was never fully received in *France* till it was settled there by the Authority of *Charles the Great*.

§. 12. This is the short and true account of the *Paschal controversie*, which made so much noise, and gave so great disturbance to the *Christian Church*; let us now bring it home to the case of the *Brittish* and *Scottish Churches*, and see what reason *Wilfrid* then, and the *Roman Missionaries* since, have had to condemn them. *was it that they opposed the universal practice of the Christian Church in not reckoning from fifteen to twenty one?* but we see the *Roman Church* it self had but lately embraced that way of computation; having before made use of the same Cycle the *Britains* did, of eighty four, and reckon'd from sixteen to twenty two. *was it, that according to their way different Easters would be kept the same year?* but, why should this be worse with the *Britains* and *Scots*, than with the *Eastern* and *Western Churches*, which differed sometimes a month in their *Easter*; as, besides, what hath been mentioned already, appears by the antient *Laterculus Paschalis* first published

lished by *Bucherius*, in which he shews, that within the compass of it, viz. an hundred years, the *Easter* of the *Latins* was kept a month sooner than the *Alexandrians*, viz. *A. D.* 322, 349, 406. And *A. D.* 387. a threefold *Easter* was kept, some *March 21.* others *April 25.* others *April 18.* as appears by *S. Ambrose's* Epistle written on that occasion. Again *A. D.* 577. a threefold *Easter* was kept, some keeping it the eighteenth of *April*, as those which followed *Victorius*, others the twenty fifth of *April*, viz. those which followed the *Alexandrian Canon*; and others again, even in *Gaul*, as *Greg. Turonensis* saith on the 12. Kal. of *April*, *March 21.* the very day of the *Vernal Æquinox*: So he tells us, they did in compliance with the *Spaniards*, who it seems thought it no *heresie* so to do, even after the decree of the *Council of Nice*. But I suppose the main fault of the *Brittish* and *Scottish* Churches was, that at some times it would so happen that they might keep their *Easter-day* on the fourteenth of the *Moon*, and so comply with the *Jews*. Was this it in truth which unchurch'd them all, and rendred their *Ordinations* null? The *Apostles* I am sure did far more in compliance with the *Jews* than this came to, as to matter of *Circumcision* and other things, and even in this

Bucher.
Comment.
p. 264.

V. Labb.
Chronolog.
Technic. ad
A. 387. &
ad A. 577.

Greg. Turon.
l. 5. c. 17.

point, if Ecclesiastical History may be credited, and yet I hope their *Ordinations* were good, and the *Churches Orthodox* which they planted. Methinks, it might have been called *compliance with the Apostles* as well with as the *Jews*? and will indeed compliance with an *Apostolical practice unchurch* whole Nations? it must be surely only with the *Church of Rome* that it can do so. And yet did not the *Church of Rome* it self comply with the *Jews* in the use of their *Cycle*, and in the beginning of their *Lunar Month* on the fifth, and not on the eighth of *March* as the *Alexandrians*? And why should one sort of *compliance unchurch* people, and not another? If every *compliance* doth it, farewell to the *Church of Rome* it self and her *Ordinations*, even after the *Nicene Council*. But, what if after all this, the *Church of Rome* after the embracing the *Alexandrian Cycle*, did comply more with the *Jews* than the *Brittish Churches* did in keeping their *Easter* on the fourteenth of the Moon: for by that *Canon* they were to keep it on the fifteenth, and that was the great *Festival day* among the *Jews*, for on the evening of the fourteenth they did eat their *bitter herbs*, but the next day was the *solemn Festival*: and I would fain understand whether it were not a great-

er compliance with the *Jews* to feast the same day they did, than to keep that for a *Festival*, on which they eat their *bitter herbs*, and began the *Passover* only on the evening? Besides, they who kept it on the fifteenth, must celebrate the memory of *Christs passion* before the fourteenth, which certainly was as great an incongruity as could happen by keeping it on the fourteenth. But supposing it were a compliance with the *Jews*; it is plain it was not a studied and designed compliance with them; for they kept their *Easter* on the *Lords day* in opposition to them; only it happened once in seven years, saith Mr. Cressy, that the fourteenth of the Moon and Easter met, and then they kept it with the *Jews*; If this were it which unchurched them; how hard was it for such *Britains* and *Scots* to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven! Or rather, how hard is it for such who can Unchurch whole Nations of *Christians* on such pittiful accounts as these? S. Paul would have said, I will keep no *Easter* while the world stands, rather than destroy whole Churches of such for whom Christ dyed. But what do we meddle with S. Paul; they are only the *Usurpers* of S. Peter's Chair, that dare so easily, in their own opinion, send whole Churches to Hell; viz. for doing no more in ef-

Agid. Bucher. Commentar. in Pasch. Canon. p. 190.

Usser. de Primord. Eccles. Britan. p. 934.

fect, than themselves had done not long before. Nay, to conclude all, it is very probably supposed by two learned Persons, that what the *Brittish* and *Scottish Churches*, at that time accounted the fourteenth of the Moon, was in truth the sixteenth, (whether by the correction of *Sulpitius Severus*, as *Bishop Usser* supposes, or the shortness of the Cycle, as *Bucherius*; is no matter at all). And I hope all persons shall not be presently sent to Hell, that do mistake in the *Computation* of *Easter*, according to the Judgement of the *Roman Church*; for then God have mercy on all those that do not follow the *Gregorian Accompt*. And I think the difference as great and as weighty now, as it was in the famous *Dispute* between *Wilfrid* and *Colman*: But if notwithstanding this difference the *Brittish* and *Scottish Christians* were very good *Christians*, and so many *English Churches* were planted by them, Mr. Cressy must harden his forehead in standing to it, that the *English Saxons* were converted by *Benedictin Monks*.

CHAP. V.

Of the Pœnal Laws against Papists.

§. I. **I** Am now come to that which *Epist. Apol*
 Mr. Cressy looks upon as a *sect. 98, 99.*
p. 119.
 very important subject, and deserving
 serious consideration; which is,
how far those who acknowledge subjection to
a forreign Power, as all English Catholicks
do, can give satisfaction to the State of their
Fidelity to his Majesty? which, he saith,
the Person of Honour repeats in several pla-
ces, and is most accurately descanted upon
in his nine Questions near the conclusion of
his Book. I shall therefore give a short ac-
 count of what the Person of Honour saith
 upon this subject; and then consider
 what Mr. Cressy offers by way of Reply
 to it.

I. He saith, “that the *Personal Autho-* *Aninadu.*
“rity of the Pope, was that, and that only *p. 10.*
 “which first made the *Schism*, and still con-
 “tinues it, and is the ground of all the ani-
 “mosity

"mosity of the *English Catholicks* against
 "the *Church of England*, and produced
 "their separation from it; and if they will
 "renounce all that *Personal Authority* in
 "the *Pope*, and any obedience to it within
 "his Majesties Kingdoms, they will purge
 "themselves of all such jealousy, or suspi-
 "cion of their Fidelity, as may prove dan-
 "gerous to the Kingdom, and against which
 "the *Laws* are provided: because it is
 "their dependance on a forreign Jurisdicti-
 "on, which makes them or their opinions
 "taken notice of by the *Politick Govern-*
 "ment of the Kingdom.

P. 243.

" 2. That it is necessary for the perso-
 "nal security of Kings and Princes, and for
 "the peace and quiet of Kingdoms, that it
 "may be clearly made manifest, what the
 "Authority and Power is, that a *forreign*
 "Prince doth challenge in another Princes
 "Dominions contrary to, and above the
 "Laws of the Land, and what obedience
 "it is that subjects may pay to such a *for-*
 "reign Prince, without the privity, and
 "contrary to the command of his own So-
 "veraign; which cannot be done by a ge-
 "neral Answer, but by distinct assigning the
 "bounds of the *Popes Temporal* and *Spiritu-*
 "al Power in *England*; and what the full
 "intent of them is, that the King may
 "discern

discern whether he hath enough of either
to preserve himself and the Peace of the
Kingdom.

3. That till such time as the *Roman-* P. 245.

Catholick Subjects of *England* give as good
security to the King for their Fidelity and
peaceable behaviour, as all his other sub-
jects do, they have no cause to wonder
that they may be made subject to such
Laws and restraints, as may disable them
from being dangerous; when they profess
to owe obedience to a *foreign Prince*,
who doth as much profess not to be a
friend to their Countrey, and will not
declare what that obedience is.

4. That the *Roman Catholick Subjects* P. 9, 10.

of *England* have a more immediate de-
pendance on the *Pope*, than is allowed in
any *Catholick* Countreyes: and that those
who under pretence of Religion refuse to
declare, that it is in no Earthly Power to
absolve them from their Fidelity to the
King, do refuse to give as full satisfaction
and security for their Allegiance, as *Catholick Subjects* do give for their Fidelity
to *Catholick Kings*: there being no *French*
Roman Catholick who dares refuse to
do it.

P. 246.

5. That there is so much the more P. 71, 72.

reason to require this, since the late in-
stance

P. 247.

“ stance of the *Irish Rebellion*, wherein the
 “ *Pope* absolved the Kings Subjects from
 “ their Oaths , and took upon himself to
 “ be their *General* in the *Person* of his *Nun-*
 “ *tio*, and assumed the exercise of the *Regal*
 “ *Power*, both at *Land* and *Sea*, and im-
 “ prisoned those *Catholicks*, and threatned
 “ to take away their Lives who had pro-
 “ moted the peace, and desired to return to
 “ the *Kings* *subjection*; and hath since given
 “ a severe check to those of the *Irish* *No-*
 “ *bility* and *Clergie*, who had declared that
 “ the *Pope* had no *Power* to dispense with
 “ their *Fidelity* to his Majesty, or to ab-
 “ solve them from any Oaths they should
 “ take to that purpose: and imployed his
 “ *Nuntio* to discountenance and suppress
 “ that *Declaration*, and to take care that it
 “ should proceed no further; and that *Car-*
 “ *dinal Barbarine* at the same time put
 “ them in mind, that the *Kingdom* of *En-*
 “ *gland* was still under *Excommunication*;
 “ and since that, the *Pope* hath made many
 “ *Bishops* in *Ireland*, which his Predeces-
 “ sors had forborn to do from the death of
 “ *Queen Elizabeth*, to *A. D.* 1640. And
 “ therefore there is no reason to believe,
 “ that the *Court* of *Rome* doth recede from
 its former principles, as to these things.

P. 75.

§. 2. These several particulars carry so much weight along with them, as may easily raise the expectation of any one, to see what Mr. *Cressy* will reply to them. And in truth he enters the *Field* like a *Champion*; for he saith, *his Apologie is published permissu Superiorum; and what he writes on this special subject*, he desires the *Person of Honour to consider, not as the inconsiderable opinion of one particular person only*. And he doth assure him, that there is not any one Point of Controversie upon which they more earnestly desire to be summoned to give an account before equal Judges, than this. Thus he enters the lists, and walks his ground, and brandishes his sword, and makes legs to the Judges with more than ordinary assurance, and fails in no point of a *Champion*, but overcoming his Adversary. Which he is so far from, that after these Bravado's and flourishes he dares not stand before him; but looks round about him to discern any way to escape. But although it be beneath the Greatness of his Adversary, to pursue him over all his Bogs, and to draw him out of his Fastnesses; yet I shall endeavour to bring him into the Lists again, that his Adversary may not go away blushing at so mean a Triumph.

Epist. Apol.
p. 101.

There

There are five things which Mr. Cressy offers at by way of Answer to the Discourse of the Person of Honour on this subject.

F. 112, 113

I. That there is no reason to suspect the Catholick subjects of England to be more wanting in Fidelity to their Prince than of other Nations; whose Catholick Ancestors were so far from acknowledging any Supremacy of the Pope in Temporals, and much less any Authority in him to depose Princes, that even in those times when Church-men had the greatest Power in this Kingdom, Statutes were made with the joynt Votes of the Clergie upon occasion of some Usurpations of the Roman Court, in which the Penalty was no less than a Premunire against any one who without the Kings License should make any Appeals to Rome, or submit to a Legats jurisdiction, or upon the Popes Summons go out of the Kingdom, or receive any Mandats or Briefts from Rome, or purchase Bulls for presentments to Churches: and which is most considerable, the ground of their rejecting Papal Usurpations is thus expressed, For the Crown of England is free, and hath been free from earthly subjection at all times, being immediately subject to God in all things touching the Regalities of the same, and not subject to the Pope; to which he saith, the Bishops assented,

Stat. 25, 26

27 Edw. 3.

Stat. 16

R. 2.

assented, and the Lords and Commons declared their Resolution to stand with the King in the cases aforesaid, and in all other cases attempted against him his Crown and Regalitie in all points, to live and to dye.

2. That whatsoever they suffer here in England by vertue of the Pœnal Laws, it is purely for their Religion and the Catholick faith; and therefore he parallels our Pœnal Laws, with those of the Medes and Persians against Daniel; and of Nero, Domitian and Dioclesian against the Apostles and their successors: and yet Mr. Cressly confesses, that the occasion of the Pœnal Laws, was the treasonable actions of some of their own Religion; but he adds, that they were scarce one score of persons, and abhorred by all the rest, for which actions of theirs, he confesseth, that care is taken of exacting Oaths both of Fidelity and Supremacy from Roman Catholicks as dangerous Subjects; and dayes of Thanksgiving are kept for the discovery and prevention of such personal Treasons; whereas, saith he, the whole Kingdoms deliverance from almost an universal Rebellion designing the extinction of Monarchy and Prelacy both, and executing the murder of the lawful Sovereign is not esteemed a sufficient motive for such publick Thanksgivings, neither it seems is there

at all a necessity of requiring from any a Retraction of the Principles of Rebellion, or a promise that it shall not be renewed. By which we might think Mr. Cressy had been utterly a stranger in his own Countrey, and had never heard of the thirtieth of *January* or the twenty ninth of *May*, which are solemnly observed in our Church, and the *Offices* joyned with that of the fifth of *November*, and are purposely intended for that very thing which he denyes to be taken notice of by us, in such a manner. What must we say to such men? who openly and to our faces deny that, which the whole Nation knows to be true. These stories might have passed abroad, where they have been wont to lye for the *Catholick Cause*, but to have the impudence to say such things here, which every Boy can confute, is not the way to advance the *Reputation* of their Church among us.

And what doth Mr. Cressy think, *the Renuntiation of the Covenant* was intended for, if not to prevent the mischief of the former Rebellion? And is it possible for any man who knows the *Laws* of his *Countrey* concerning these matters, to dare to say in the face of the Kingdom, *That it seems there is no necessity at all of requiring from any a Retraction of the principles of Rebellion,*

bellion, or a promise it shall never be renewed? If this be the way of defending the innocency of *Roman Catholicks*, I had rather be accounted guilty, than have my innocency thus defended.

3. He saith, *we also confidently affirm*, P. 100.
 (so we have seen he hath done too much already) *that by vertue of the Spiritual Jurisdiction inherent in the Pope, the Temporal Rights and Power of the King (or even of the meanest of his Subjects) are not at all abridged, or prejudiced.* Which assertion, he saith, *hath been alwayes maintained in France, the Pope not contradicting it; from whence it follows, that it is agreeable to Catholick Religion.* After this I expected he should speak home to the purpose, and say, *this is all the Power challenged by the Pope as to England, or owned by any Roman Catholicks here*; which, finding what he had affirmed about other matters, I thought he would have made no scruple of; but I see he durst not, either for conscience or meer shame. But how then doth he get over this difficulty? *why English Catholicks*, saith he, *should be suspected not to be as tender of the just Rights and precious lives also of their Sovereign, as the Catholick Subjects of any other Kingdom, and why they should be thought to be willing to ac-*
knowledge

*knowledge any Temporal Power direct or indirect, to be inherent in the Pope over the King or Kingdom, to which not any Catholick Gentleman or Nobleman would submit, I cannot imagine. I am very much to seek for the sense of this, and know not what the submitting relates to ; but I suppose something left out, or struck out by his Superiours, who did not take care to leave sense behind : But is this indeed all the security Mr. Cressy offers, that he cannot imagine it should be otherwise here than in France ? We find, when he pleases, he can imagine strange things: and is this only out of the reach of his imagination ? What doth he think, of the Kingdoms being under Excommunication at Rome, as Cardinal Barbarine takes care to put the Irish Nobility in mind, for some good end doubtless. Is the Kingdom of France so ? What doth he imagine of Bulls from Rome prohibiting the taking the Oaths required ? Are there any such things in France ? What doth he think of the Popes Nuntio appearing in the Head of an Army, and absolving the Kings subjects from their Allegiance ? I confess, it was not much better in France in the time of the Holy League ; but what opinion had they of the Popes temporal Power then ? Cannot Mr. Cressy imagine that there are
such*

such people in *England* as *Jesuits*? and it is not many years since their *Reasons* were therefore shewed to be *Unreasonable* in pleading an exemption from the *Sanguinary Laws*, because they did hold the *Popes* power of *deposing Princes*, and *absolving Subjects* from their *Allegiance*. And do not the *Jesuitical* party still plead that their opinion is the common doctrine of their *Church*, confirmed by *General Councils*, and approved by *multitudes* of *Divines* of all sorts; and that the contrary is only asserted here, by a very inconsiderable party, whereof some are *excommunicated* at *Rome* for their zeal in this matter? And do not we know, how much greater sway the *Jesuitical* party hath among the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, than the despised *Secular Priests*? I do not at all question, but the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *England* would do as much to preserve the *just Rights* and *precious lives* of their *Sovereigns*, as of any Nation in the World, and have as great a sense of their own *Honour* as well as *Interest*, and of the *Duty* they owe to their *Countrey*. But ought not the *Laws* to take so much the more care to keep their *Consciences* untainted in these things? they being such Persons whose *Loyalty* cannot be corrupted, but under a *pretence* of *Conscience*;

Z.

and

and their *Consciences* being so much in danger, by being under the direction chiefly of those who are the sworn *servants* to the *Papal Power*.

P. 108. 4. He offers by way of *satisfaction* concerning their *Fidelity*, that they will subscribe the French Declaration lately made by the Sorbon, or the Censure of the Faculty of Paris A. D. 1626. and that very few if any at all would refuse subscription to that Form prescribed by the State, in case that unlucky word *heretical* were left out. As though all those who had hitherto refused to take that *Oath*, had done it only upon this nicety, that the word *heretical* were to be taken not in the sense of the *Givers*, but of the *Takers* of the *Oath*: whereas Mr. Cressy himself saith, that common Reason teaches, that all *Oaths*, *Professions* and *Promises* are to be understood in the sense of those who frame and require them, and not of those upon whom they are imposed. But if this were all the ground of refusing this *Oath* among any of them, Mr. Cressy therein charges them with the want of common Reason: whereas I shall make it appear in the progress of this Discourse, that this was far from being the true and only reason of *Roman Catholicks* refusing the *Oath of Allegiance*.

5. That

5. *That since Ordination abroad doth not in the least render English Priests defective in their duties to the Civil Magistrate ; it will follow that whatsoever penalty is inflicted on them on such an account, is not inflicted according to the Rule of Justice, and by consequence that whatsoever blood shall be shed, the guilt of it before God will be imputed to the whole Kingdom, since it is shed by vertue of the whole Kingdoms votes, and consent given long since upon motives long since ceased. And therefore he charges it deeply upon my conscience to endeavour to free the whole Kingdom from such a guilt. This is the substance of what Mr. Cressy saith upon this very important subject, as himself calls it ; and by vertue whereof he hopes, the pœnal Laws may be repealed, and those of their Religion may enjoy the Liberty of their Religion and all the Rights of Free-born Subjects. Which are things too important to be debated in such a manner by persons who by making reflections on the Justice and wisdom of a Nation do endeavour to expose the Laws and Government of it to the censure and reproach of the malicious and ignorant. But since our Laws are so publicly accused of injustice and cruelty, and the Kingdom charged with the guilt of innocent blood, I hope I*

P. 121.

P. 119.

P. 98.

may have leave as an *English man* to vindicate the *Laws* of our *Countrey*, and as a *Protestant* to wipe off the aspersion of *Cruelty* from our *Religion* : which I shall do without the least intention of mischief to any mens persons, or of sharpening the severities of *Laws* against them.

§. 3. And to proceed with the greatest clearness in this matter, I shall consider,

1. The charge of injustice and cruelty which he lays upon our *pœnal Laws*.

2. The proposals he makes in order to the repeal of them, and giving a full liberty to the exercise of their Religion.

1. *The charge of injustice and cruelty upon our pœnal Laws.* Whosoever adventures to charge the publick *Laws* of a Kingdom in such a manner ought to be very well advised upon what grounds he proceeds ; and to understand thoroughly the nature, and constitution of *Government* and *Rules* of *Justice*, and the power of interpreting as well as making *Laws*, and the certain bounds within which *Laws* may make actions *Treasonable*, and how far actions thought *Religious* by the Persons who do them, may become *treasonable* when they are against *Laws* made for the publick safety ; and what actions

actions of *Religion* make men *Martyrs* when they suffer for them and what not; for it is certain, they are not all of equal consequence and necessity; these and many other things a man ought to come well provided with, that dares in the face of the World to charge the *Laws* of his own Nation with *injustice and cruelty*. But Mr. *Cr.* may be excused in this matter, for that would indeed be an *unjust and cruel Law* to require *impossibilities* from men: I wish so noble a subject had been undertaken by a Person fit for it, that could have managed it otherwise than in a bare declamatory manner. But since he is the *Goliath* that dares so openly defie our *Laws* and *Government*, I shall make use of his own Weapons to cut off the heads of this terrible accusation. For, 1. He grants, *That the Laws made by their Catholick Ancestors, viz. the Statutes of Præmunire and Provisors were just Laws.* 2. *That our King hath reason to expect as much security of the Fidelity of his Catholick Subjects, as any Catholick Prince hath from his.* 3. *That all Christian Kings have in some sense a kind of spiritual Authority, that they ought to be Nursing Fathers to Gods Church, that they ought to promote true Christian doctrine both touching Faith and manners,*

Epistle A.
polog. t.
p. 102.

P. 105.

P. 104.

and to imploy their power when occasion is, to oblige even Ecclesiastical Persons to perform their duties, and all their Subjects to live in all Christian Piety and Vertue. These are his own words, which in short come to this, that they are bound to promote and preserve the true Religion. 4. That it is absolutely unlawful for them to defend their Religion, being persecuted by Sovereign Magistrates, by any other way but suffering: which, he saith, they do sincerely profess according to their perswasion. 5. That the treasonable actions of persons of their own Religion were the occasion of making and continuing the pœnal Laws: for upon their account, he saith, they are thought dangerous Subjects, and care is taken to exact Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy from them. 6. That where the Popes temporal power is owned, especially as to deposing Princes, there can be no sufficient security given as to the Fidelity of such persons. This I prove from his saying, that there is no reason to question their Fidelity, whose Ancestors were so far from any Supremacy of the Pope in Temporals, and much less any Authority in him to depose Princes, that they made the Statutes of Præmunire and Provifors, (which by his favour is a very weak argument, unless men can never be

be supposed to degenerate from the *Vertues* of their *Ancestors*) but besides, the satisfaction he offers, is by renouncing the Popes *temporal power*, and declaring that his power of *deposing Princes*, and *absolving Subjects* from their *Allegiance*, is repugnant to the word of God, although they dare not call it *heretical* ; from whence it follows, that Mr. *Cressy* doth not think those can give sufficient security for their *Fidelity*, who dare not thus far renounce the Popes power. P. 116, 117

7. That where there is no sufficient security given for the *Fidelity* of Persons, there is great reason they should lye under the severity of *Laws*. Which Mr. *Cressy* always supposes ; and only complains of their hardship upon the offers he makes of their *Fidelity*. And this must hold as to all sorts of persons who may be dangerous to Government, although they may pretend never so much exemption by their *Function*, or being imployed in *Offices* not immediately relating to *Civil Government*.

From these concessions it will be no difficult task to clear our *Penal Laws* from *injustice*, and to vindicate the whole *Kingdom* from the guilt of *innocent blood*, if I can prove these following assertions.

1. That the same *Reasons* which justify the antient *Statutes* of *England* and the *Laws* of *Catholick Princes* abroad, do vindicate our *Pœnal Laws* from the charge of *Injustice* and *Cruelty*.

2. That *Laws* originally made upon the account of acknowledged *reasonable practices*, do continue just upon all those who do not give sufficient security against the *principles* leading to those *practices*.

1. That the same *Reasons* which justify the antient *Statutes* of *England*, and the *Laws* of *Catholick Princes* abroad, do vindicate our *Pœnal Laws* from the charge of *Injustice* and *Cruelty*. For if the *penalties* do bear no greater proportion to the nature of the *offence*; if the *Power* be as great and as just in our *Law-makers*; if the *occasions* were of as high a nature, and the *pleas* in behalf of the persons *equal*: then there can be no *reason* assigned why those *Laws* should be just and lawful, and not ours. And the making out of these things is my present business.

1. I begin with the *antient Laws and Statutes* of *England*. And I hope no one dares question, but that the *power* of making *Laws* is as good and just in *England* since the *Reformation*, as ever it was before; For if there be the least diminution of

of *Power* by vertue of the cutting off the *Popes Authority*, then so much of the *Civil Power* as was lost by it, was derived from the *Pope*: and this is in plain terms to make the *Pope* our *Temporal Sovereign*, and the whole *Kingdom* to be only *Fewdatary* to him: which is asserting his *Temporal power* with a vengeance; and contains in it a doctrine that none but very *Self-denying Princes* can ever give the least countenance to; because it strikes at the very root of their *Authority*, and makes them only *precarious Princes*, (and in a much more proper sense than the *Popes* use that Title, *The Servants of Servants*.) Supposing then the *Legislative* and *Civil Power* to be equal since the *Reformation* and before; our work is to compare the other circumstances together; and if it appear, that the *Plea of Conscience* and *Religion* did equally hold then, and notwithstanding that the *penalties* were as *great*, upon the same or far less occasions, I hope our *Laws* will at least appear as *just* and *reasonable* as those were.

§. 4. To make this out, I must give an account of the *State* of those times, and the *Reasons* and *Occasions* which moved the *Law-makers* to enact those *Pænal Statutes*:
in

in which I shall shew these two things.

1. That they began upon a controversy of *Religion* ; and that the *Pœnal Laws* were made against those persons who pleaded *Religion*. 2. That the *Reasons* and *Occasions* of the *Pœnal Laws* since the *Reformation* were at least as great as those.

1. That the antient *Pœnal Laws* were made upon a *Controversie* of *Religion* : And to give a clear account of the *Rise* and *occasion* of them, I must begin from the *Norman Conquest* ; for then those Foundations were laid of all the following controversies which happened between the *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical Power*. On the behalf of the *Ecclesiastical Power* was the plea of *Conscience* and *Religion*, on the behalf of the *Civil Power* nothing but the *just Rights of Princes*, and the necessary preservation of their own and the publick safety. And this *Controversie* between the *Two Powers* was managed with so much zeal, and such pretences of *Conscience* on the behalf of the *Ecclesiastical Power*, that the *Civil Power*, notwithstanding the courage of some *Princes*, and the resolution of *Parliaments*, had much ado to stand its ground, or to be able to preserve it self from the encroachments and *Usurpations* of the other. So that to see *Princes* give any *Countenance* to the same pre-

pretences would be almost as strange, as to see them turn *Common-wealths-men*. I know there were good *Laws* frequently made to strengthen the *Civil Power*; but the very frequency of them shewed how *ineffectual* they were; For what need many *Laws* to the same purpose, if the first had any force at all? and the multiplication of *Laws* for the same thing, is a certain sign of defect in the *Government*. To undeceive therefore all those who judge of the *State of Affairs* by the *Book of Statutes*, I shall deduce the *History* of this great *Controversie* between the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Power* in *England*; so far as to shew the necessity there was found of putting an issue to it, by casting out the *Popes* pretended *Power* and *Jurisdiction* in this *Nation*.

The two first who began this Dispute, were both men of great Spirits and resolute in their undertakings; I mean *William* the *Conqueror* and *Gregory* the seventh, who was the first *Pope* that durst speak out; and he very freely declares his mind about the subjection of the *Civil Power* to the *Ecclesiastical*, and the exemption of all *Ecclesiastical Persons* and *Things* from the *Civil Power*. In his *Epistle* to *Herimanus Bishop of Metz* about the *excommunication* of *Henry* the fourth, and absolving his Subjects from
their

Greg. 7.
Epistol. 18.
Ep. 21.

their Allegiance; he thus expresses himself; Shall not that power which was first found out by men who knew not God, be subject to that which God himself hath appointed for his own honor in the world, and the head of which is the Son of God? who knows not that Kings and Dukes had their beginnings from men who gained their Authority over their equals by blind ambition and intolerable presumption, by rapines and murders, by perfidiousness and all manner of wickedness? Is not this a very pretty account of the Original of Civil Power by the Head of the Church? But this is not all; for he adds, while Princes make Gods Priests to be subject to them, to whom may we better compare them than to him, who is the Head over all the Sons of Pride, who tempted the Son of God with promising him all the Kingdoms of the World, if he would fall down and worship him? This is better and better; it seems it is as bad as the sin of Lucifer, for Princes not to be subject to the Pope; and it is like the Devils tempting Christ, to offer to make Priests subject to the Civil Power. who doubts, saith he, that Christs Priests are to be accounted the Fathers and Masters of Kings and Princes and all the faithful? Now, saith he, is it not a lamentable madness, if the Son should offer

jer to make the Father subject to him (but one of his Successors did not think so, that set up Henry the fifth against his own Father) or the Scholar his Master, or to think to bind him on earth, by whom he expects to be loosed in Heaven? These were the Demonstrations of that Age, and the main supports of the Cause; and in his Epistle to William King of England, he tells him, that God had appointed two kinds of Government for mankind, the Apostolical and Regal (that is much, that the same Government should come only from the sins of men, and yet be from the appointment of God: but we are to consider he writ this to a King whom he hoped to perswade, and therefore would not tell him the worst of his thoughts about the beginnings of Civil Power) but, saith he, these two powers, like the Sun and Moon, have that inequality by the Christian Religion, that the Royal Power next under God is to be under the care and management of the Apostolical. And since the Apostolical See is to give an account to God of the miscarriages of Princes, his wisdom ought to consider, whether he ought not without farther delay take an Oath of Fealty to him. For no less than that would content him: but William was not so meek a Prince to be easily brought

*Gregor. 7.
Epist. l. 7.
Ep. 25.*

to

Epistol. l. i.
c. 21.
L. 9 3. 12.
Lanfranc.
Ep. 7.

Lanfranc.
Ep. 8.
Annal. Ec-
clesiast. A.
1079 n. 25.

Herr. de
Silgrave
Chronic.
MS in Bib-
lioth. Cotton.

to this, as *Robert of Sicily*, *Richard of Ci-
pua*, *Bertram of Provence*, *Rodolphus*, and
several others were, whose *Oaths of Feal-
ty* to him are extant in the *Collection* or
Register of his *Epistles*. But *William* gives
him a resolute answer, which is extant
among the *Epistles* of *Lanfranc*; that for
the *Oath of Fealty*, he had not done it; nei-
ther would he, because he never promised
it, neither did he find that ever his pre-
decessors had done it to *Gregories* predeces-
sors. The *Pope* storms at this, and writes
a chiding Letter to *Lanfranc* Arch-bishop
of *Canterbury*; who like a better subject
to the *Pope* than to the *King*, writes an
humble excuse for himself to the *Pope*, and
tells him, he had done his endeavour to
persuade the *King*, but could not prevail
with him: And *Cardinal Baronius* saith, the
Pope took it very ill at his hands, considering
the kindness he had received from the *Pa-
pal See*. For *Alexander* the second favour-
ed his cause against *Harold*, and sent him a
consecrated *Banner*; and if we may believe
Henricus de Silgrave, the *Pope* gave him his
title to the *Crown* of *England*, on condition
that he should hold it in Fee from the *Papal
See*: but I find no such thing mentioned
by *Ingulphus*, or *Gulielmus Picta-
viensis*, who understood the *Conque-*

rors affairs as well as any, being about him
 at that time ; neither would *Gregory* the se-
 venth have omitted it : but however *Ber-*
tholdus Constantiensis , or rather *Bernaldus*
 an *Author* of that time, and the *Popes* *Pæ-*
nitentiary, affirms confidently, that *William*
King of England made this whole Nation
tributary to the Pope ; which there is no
 pretence for, but only that he, after some
 demurr , caused the antient *Eleemosynarie*
Peter-pence, to be sent to *Rome*. So care-
 ful had Princes need to be, of the continu-
 ance of *Gifts to Rome* , which in time are
 looked on as a *Tribute* ; and that *Tribute*
 an acknowledgement of *Fealty* ; and that
Fealty proves a *Subjection in Temporals*.
 But this was not the only dispute between
 these two *Conquerors* , for *Gregory* the se-
 venth at the same time that he sent *Hubert*
 his *Legat* to *England* about the *Oath* of
Fealty , he sent *Hugo* to keep a *Council* in
France against the *investitures of Bishops*
by Lay-hands, and afterwards in a *Council*
 at *Rome*, solemnly condemned them ; and
 threatned *deposition to all that received*
them, and the vengeance of God upon those
that gave them. The bottom of which lay
 not in the pretence of *Simony*, but because
 it was too great a token of their *subjection*
 to the *Civil Power* ; and *Gregory* the seventh
 was,

Berthold.
Constant.
Apnd. ad
Herm.
Contr. A.
 1084.

Baron. A.D.
 1080. n. 3.

Greg. 7. ep.
l. 7. ep. 14.

Berthold.
Const. A.D.
1085.

was, as Bertholdus saith, a most zealous defender of Ecclesiastical Liberty, i. e. the total exemption of Ecclesiastical persons from subjection to the Civil Power; and Eadmerus saith, that the Bishops made their homage to the King before they received investiture by the Staff and the Ring. But notwithstanding all these Decrees and Threatnings,

Eadmer.
prefat. p. 2.

William the Conquerour, as that Author tells us, would never part with the Rights of the Crown in this matter: and he declares that he would not only keep the antient Saxon custom of investiture,

Selden. not.
ad Eadm.
p. 142.

(as Ingulphus and other Authors shew it to have been) but all the antient customs of his Predecessors in Normandy relating to Ecclesiastical affairs: So that all Ecclesiastical as well as Civil things, saith Eadmerus, were under his command. These customs were,

Eadmer. p.
6.

1. That none should be acknowledged Pope, but whom the King pleased. 2. That no Bulls should be received, but such as were approved by the King. 3. That nothing should be decreed in Provincial Councils, but by his Approbation. 4. That no Persons about the King should be excommunicated without his knowledge: but besides, Pope Gregory charged him with two more enormities, viz. 5. Hindering all appeals to Rome of Bishops and Arch-bishops: which

Greg. Registr. l. 7.
ep. 1.

which was such a thing, he saith that a Heathen would not have done it. 6. Seizing upon the person of his Brother Odo being a Bishop and imprisoning him; which he said was plainly against Scripture, *Qui vos tangit, tangit pupillam oculi mei; & Nolite tangere Christos meos*; which no doubt were understood of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Patriarchal and Jewish Church. But I do not find that King William did at all recede from the Rights of his Crown, although the Pope according to his skill quoted Scripture against them; and although the Bishop of Baieux was clapt up on the account of Treason; as our Historians agree, yet in Pope Gregories opinion he suffered for Religion and the preservation of Divine Laws: and such men as Mr. Cressy might have compared such Laws with those of Nero and Domitian; but I think they durst not have done it in the Conquerours time; who at the Council of Illebon in Normandy declared his resolution to maintain the customs of his Predecessors, relating to Ecclesiastical affairs.

L. II. Ep 2.

O. d. r.
Vital. Ec-
cles. histor.
l. 5. p. 554.

§. 5. After the death of Gregory the seventh, there was no Pope acknowledged in England for eleven years, because of the Schism between Urban and Clement; and

Florent.
Wigorn. A.
1091.

our King had declared for neither of them : And *William Rufus* told *Anselm*, who would fain have gone to *Urban* the second for his *Pall*, that he had not yet acknowledged him for Pope, and therefore he should not go. And, saith he, if you own him without my Authority, you break your faith to me, and displease me as much as if you did endeavour to take away my Crown : *Anselm* however stands upon it, that himself had owned him for Pope, and would do so whatever came of it ; and would not depart from his obedience for an hour. A Parliament being called at *Rockingham* upon this occasion, the Nobility and Bishops all advised him to submit to the King. *Anselm* notwithstanding cries, *Tu es Petrus & super hanc Petram, &c. & Qui vos tangit, tangit pupil- lam oculi*, as *Gregory* the seventh had done before him, and to as much purpose ; but no such things, saith he, are said of Kings or Princes, or Dukes or Earles ; and therefore he resolved to adhere to the Pope : The King being acquainted with his answer, sends some of the Nobles and Bishops to him, to let him know, that the whole Kingdom was against him, and that hereby he endeavoured to take away one of the Flowers of his Crown from him, by depriving him of one of the antient Rights of it :
and

Eadmer. p.
26.

P. 27.

P. 28.

and withal that he acted contrary to his *Oath to the King*. *Anselm* (if we may P. 24. believe *Eadmerus*, who lived in his time; and was his constant companion) stood upon his privilege, *that an Archbishop of Canterbury could be judged by none but the Pope : and so by that means was wholly exempt from the Royal Power : and he bore all the affronts he met with patiently out of his firm devotion to the Papal See*. The *Bishop of Durham* whose advice the King asked in this matter, told him, that *Anselm* had the *Word of God and Authority of S. Peter of his side*. The King said, *he would never endure one equal to himself in his Kingdom : and therefore took off his protection from him, and commands the Nobility and Bishops to disown him : and banishes his Counsellors, and gives him time for a final answer*. The mean while the King tries by several arts to gain him, *viz.* by sending to *Urban* secretly for the *Pall*, and acknowledging him to be *Pope*, and at last P. 30, 31. they brought it to this issue, that he should receive the *Pall* at the *Kings hands*, which he utterly refused to do, and would take it no otherwise but off from the *Altar of Canterbury*. P. 32, 33. After this, he desires leave to go to the *Pope*, the *King* denies it, he persists in his intreaty, the *King* absolutely P. 34. P. 38.

denyes it, he resolves to go however, *because*, saith he, *it is better to obey God than men.* Asthough *God* had commanded him to disobey the *King* in this matter. When the *Bishops* had dissuaded him from it, and told him they would keep their fidelity to the *King*: Go, saith he, *then to your Lord, and I will hold to my God.* Did he mean the same *God* which the *Gloss* upon the *Canon Law* speaks of, *our Lord God the Pope*? and it is hard to conceive any other could be meant in this case. The *King* sends some of the *Bishops* and *Barons* to him to put him in mind of his Oath to observe the *Laws* and *Customs* of the *Realm*; he told him they were to be understood with the reservation of *being according to God*, and that it was not so, to keep him from going to the *Pope*, and therefore he would not observe it; and so takes his leave of the *King* to be gone; and the *King* after his going seizes upon all his profits. I desire to know of such as *Mr. Cressy*, whether the *King* or *Anselm* were in the right in all this affair? And if the *King* had used greater severity to him; whether *Anselm* had suffered on the account of *Religion* or *Treason*? But he complains to the *Pope*, *that the Law of God, and Authority of the Pope and Canons were overwhelmed by the Customs of the Realm;*

and

P. 39.

P. 40.

P. 43.

and therefore he resigns his *Archbishoprick* to him, and desires the Pope to put one into it ; which was contrary to the antient Rights of the King : The Pope in a Council at Rome P. 53. solemnly excommunicates all Lay-persons that gave Investitures of Churches, and all that received them, and all Ecclesiastical persons that paid Homage to Princes, saying it was very unfit that they who made their God, should put their hands into the obscene and cruel hands of Princes : as Eadmerus relates it, who was present in the Council.

§. 6. After the death of Rufus, Anselm P. 56. returns for England, the new King Henry the first demands the accustomed Homage from him, he denies it, and gives the late Council at Rome for his reason ; adding further, if the King would submit to the Decrees of that Council, there would be peace between them, otherwise he would be gone again. The King was very unwilling to part with the Rights of his Predecessors in the Investiture and Homage of Bishops ; for saith Eadmerus, it seemed to him as much as to lose half his Kingdom : and yet was afraid to let Anselm go, lest by his means the Pope should have set up his Brother Roberts Title against him ; the King being in this strait, endeavours to gain time,

Ead. p. 60.

and sends *Ambassadors* to the *Pope*, to try, if he could procure his consent, to let him enjoy his own Rights : *Pope Paschal* the second in his long *Epistle* to *Henry*, absolutely condemns them, as *inconsistent with God, with justice, or with salvation* : and adds that to the wit of his predecessors, that it was a monstrous thing for a Son to beget a Father, or a man to make a God ; (but *Urban* gave that, as a reason against it, because *Priests* were men that did make a God) now *Priests*, saith he, in *Scripture* are called *Gods* ; and are not *Princes* or *Secular Powers* ? The *King* not at all moved with this *Bull*, requires from *Anselm* either to pay him *homage*, and to consecrate those that had received *investitures* from him, or immediately to be gone out of the *Kingdom* : and withal declares, that he would preserve the *Rights* of his *Predecessors*, nor would endure any in his *Kingdom* that would not do him *homage* ; the *Nobility* and the rest of the *Bishops* joyn with the *King*, and used all persuasions to keep him from submitting to the *Pope*. The *King* hoping to compose this matter, sends three *Bishops* to the *Pope* to let him know, saith *Eadmerus*, that if the *King* did not enjoy his *Rights*, he would banish *Anselm* and renounce the *Pope*. But *Brompton* hath the smart Letter the

P. 61.

Brompton.
Chron. p.
 999.

King

King sent upon this occasion, wherein he tells him, *he would not fail of that respect and obedience which his predecessors had shewn to the Popes, on condition that all the Honours, Uses and Customs which his Father had in his predecessors times might be freely enjoyed by him; and that by the help of God none of them should be lessened in his time; and if, saith he, which God forbid, I should be so base to let them go; yet my Nobility, nay, the whole people would by no means suffer it.* The Pope told them, *he would not yield to the King in this matter to save his Life; and writes word to the King, that by the judgement of the Holy Ghost he had forbidden all investitures by Princes: and encourages Anselm in his opposition to the King, with some impertinent texts of Scripture.* (For of all men, the Popes, notwithstanding their pretence to infallibility, have been very unhappy in applying Scripture in their Bulls; and it would be one of the strangest Commentaries that ever the World saw, to set down the places of Scripture produced by them with their interpretations of them: but that is not my present business.) The King called together the Great men of the Nation in Council at London: and sends some of them to Anselm, to know, *whether he would ob-*

P. 63.

P. 65.

- serve the customs of his predecessors or be gone? The Bishops pretending private instructions contrary to the Popes Bulls, Anselm desires time to know the Popes mind, and still stands to the Popes Letters; upon which the King told him, he would bear these delays no longer; *Quid mihi de meis cum Papa; what have I to do with the Pope about my own Subjects? what Rights my Predecessors had, are mine too: whosoever would take them away from me is my enemy, and every one that is my Friend knows it.* Anselm tells him, that to save his life he would not contradict the Popes decrees unless he were absolved by him. The King would not so much as hear of the Popes Bulls; nor suffer others to do it, which grieved Anselm much; and away he goes again to receive comfort from the Pope.
- P. 73. The King sends an Ambassadour to the Pope, who told him his Master would lose his Kingdom rather than the Investiture of Bishops; the Pope very graciously replied, *Before God I will lose my head rather than he shall quietly enjoy them.* But at last, the Pope was content he should enjoy other customs excepting this of Investitures; the King was not at all satisfied with this,
- P. 76. but sends word to Anselm he must not set foot on English ground unless he would promise

promise to observe the *former customs of the Realm* ; which he still refused to do, and after several *endeavours* to compose this difference, the *King* was at last forced to yield up the *ancient Right of Investiture*, and retain only *homage*, which the *Pope* and *Anselm* were at present contented with ; but this Agreement held not long ; for notwithstanding the *Pope* did lay so much weight on this business of *Investitures*, (as besides what is mentioned already, he said, *that Christ dyed in vain if Lay-investitures were allowed*) yet the *King* was certainly informed that this same *Pope* had yielded *Investitures* to the *Emperour Henry 5.* as *Florentius wigorniensis* and *Malmsbury* report, and therefore *Anselm* writes to the *Pope*, that the *King* would resume his too : and it is evident he did so, for *Matth. Paris* and *Westminster* say expressly, that the *King* invested the next *Archbishop of Canterbury*, with a staff and a ring after the ancient custom : which was after the *Lateran Council* wherein the *Pope* again revoked the *Emperours* privilege about *investitures*, which he saith, is contrary to the *Holy Ghost* and the *Canonical Institution*. But where was the *Holy Ghost* then when he granted this privilege ? After this, the *Pope* complains of the *King* for retaining the other *anci-*

ent

P. 87, 91.

Mat. Paris
A. 1107.

p. 63.

Petr. de
Marca de
Conco d.

Sacerd. &

Imp. l. 8.

c. 20. n. 2.

Florent.

Wigorn.

A.D. 1111.

Malmsbur.

de gest. Reg.

Angl. l. 5.

Mat. Paris

A. 1113.

p. 65.

Mat. West-

minster. A.

1113.

Eadm. l. 5.

p. 115, 118.

ent Rights, of hindering Appeals to Rome and not receiving Legats ; but at last Pope Calixtus yielded to the King the enjoyment of the Customs which his Father had in England and Normandy. Was not this Pope very kind to the King who so patiently yielded to those customs which his Predecessors had condemned as contrary to Religion, and making Christs death to no purpose ? The same Callistus 2. in the Council of Lateran, A. D. MCXXII. put an end to the Controversie of investitures in the Roman Empire : yielding to the Emperour the right of Investitures so it were performed without Simony, and by a Scepter and not by a staff and a Ring ; because, forsooth, if it had been done by a ring, it made it a kind of marriage, and so made a spiritual Adultery between the Bishop and his Church ; as the former Popes very learnedly proved in their Epistles against Investitures.

Malsinbar.
de Henr. I.
p. 95.

§. 7. This Controversie being at an end, the Popes bethought themselves of a more subtle way of effecting their design, which was by engaging the Bishops by oaths of Fidelity and obedience to themselves, as well as taking away their homages and Fealty to Princes, that so with less noise and more security, they might compass the design of
Eccle-

Ecclesiastical Liberty or rather *slavery* to the Pope. Gregory 7. Urban 2. and Paschal 2. did all forbid Clergy-men to give any homage to Princes, as Petrus de Marca proves from the *Authentick acts* of their several Councils ; instead of which they required an Oath of Fealty to themselves. For it was not a bare oath of Canonical obedience, which the Popes required, but as much an oath of Fealty and Allegiance, as ever Princes require from their other Subjects : which will be made appear by comparing the oaths together. The most ancient form of Allegiance I meet with, is that prescribed in the *Capitular of Charles the Great*, which is contained in very few words.

Petr. de
Marcâ de
Concord.
Sacerd. &
Imper. l. 8.
c. 21. n. 4.

Promitto ego partibus Domini mei Caroli Regis & filiorum ejus, quia fidelis sum & ero diebus vite mee sine fraude vel malo ingenio, as it is in the old Edition of the Constitutions ; but in the latter out of *Sirmondus* his Copy it is somewhat larger.

Constit. ca-
roli Magni
c. 2. p. 263.

Promitto ego quod ab isto die in antea fidelis sum Domino Carolo piissimo Imperatori pura mente absq; fraude & malo ingenio de meâ parte ad suam partem & ad honorem regni sui, sicut per drectam debet esse homo Domino suo. The ancient Form used in this Nation ran thus,

Histor.
Franc.
Scriptores
ed. ab Ar.
Du Chesn.
Tom. 2.
p. 186.

Tu jurabis quod ab ista die in antea eris fidelis

Symbat.
Glossar.
1. Fidelitas.

fidelis & legalis Domino nostro Regi & suis heredibus; & fidelitatem & legalitatem ei portabis de vitâ & de membro & de terreno honore, & quod tu eorum malum aut damnum nec noveris nec audiveris quod non defendes pro posse tuo, ita te Deus adjuvet : Now let us compare these with the Oath made to the Pope; I shall take that form which is published out of the Vatican MS. by Odoricus Raynaldus, which was taken by Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury.

Odoric.
Raynald.
Anal. Ec-
clesiast.
A. 1233.
2. 65.

Ego Edmundus, &c. ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediens ero S. Petro & S. R.E. & D. Papæ Gregorio suisq; successoribus canonicè intrantibus. Non ero in factio neq; in consilio, aut consensu ut vitam perdant, aut membrum, aut capiantur malâ captione. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se, aut per nuntios suos sive per literas ad eorum damnum, mesciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & Regalia Sancti Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum salvo meo ordine contra omnem hominem, &c. This is enough to shew, that if the other were properly Oaths of Allegiance to Princes, this is so to the Pope, and thereby they are bound to the very same obedience to the Pope as their Sovereign, as any men are to their own Princes. For here is no exception at all of the Rights of Princes

Princes and the *duty* they owe to them ; not the least notice being taken of them, as though they did owe them any allegiance : which we plainly see was never intended shou'd be paid by those who first imposed this Oath. That Learned Gentleman Sir *Roger Twisden* supposes this oath to have been framed by *Paschal 2.* and it is certain, that *Rodulphus* being made *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* in his time, is the first we read among us, that took an oath of *Fidelity* to the *Pope*, with that of *Canonical obedience* : after whose time we frequently meet with it, but not before : but in truth, it is the very same oath, only applying it to Churchmen, which *Richard* of *Capua* took by way of *Fealty* to *Gregory 7.* as may appear to any one that compares them together : where there are the same expressions word for word : by which we may see the strictest allegiance to the *Pope* is understood by it, without the least reservation of any other *Princes Rights.* And considering the doctrine and design of the first imposers of it, it cannot be questioned, but their intention was hereby to exempt the takers of it from all Allegiance to any other than the *Pope.* But lest this design should be too easily suspected, at first it went only along with the *Pall* to *Archbishops*, then it came to *Bishops*,

*Historical
Vindicat.
Chapt. 3.
n. 50.*

*Eadmer.
l. 5. p. 113.
Rad. de
Diceto p.
534.
Gervaf. Do-
robora. p.
1307.
Mat. Paris
p. 414.
vit. Abbat.
p. 140.
Thorn p.
1899.*

Decretal. de
jurejurand.
l. 2. tit. 24.
c. 4.

Pontifical.
Roman. p.
86. to 97.
Antw.
1627.

Epistolæ se-
lect. Cent. 1.
ep. 21.
p. 94, 97.

shops, and at last, as the Gloss upon the Canon Law tells us, to all that receive any dignity, consecration, or confirmation from the Pope; and now the oath in the Pontifical is much larger than it was, and by it the takers are bound to observe and defend the Papal reservations, Provisions and mandates, and to persecute to the utmost of their Power, all Hereticks, Schismaticks and Rebels to the Pope. Much kindness then is to be expected from all who are sworn to persecution, and much allegiance to Princes from those who own the Pope to be their Sovereign in as express terms as any Subjects can do their Princes: and so Cassander takes notice, that several passages in this Oath relate to meer civil obedience, which we owe to Princes and not to the Pope: and for what relates to the Papacy, if by it be understood the Papal Tyranny, as no doubt it is, he utterly condemns it as an unlawful oath; and I extreamly wonder at those who make so many scruples about oaths of Allegiance to Princes, that they make none at all about this, which as far as I can see, leaves no room for Allegiance to them, any more than a person who hath already sworn Allegiance to one Prince, hath liberty to swear the same thing to another; which it is impossible he should keep to both.

The

The first contriver of this Oath to the Pope, was no other than Gregory 7. who could not be thought to understand less than the strictest Allegiance by it, since he required Fealty from Temporal Princes, and forbad all Clergy-men paying homage to them. In the *Council* held by him at Rome, A. D. 1079. the *Archbishop* of Aquileia took an Oath in the same form with that published by Raynaldus out of the *Vatican* MS. and therein he is sworn, to defend the *Roman Papacy* and the *Royalties of S. Peter*; which makes me wonder how the form extant in the *Canon Law* should have it *Regulas Sanctorum Patrum* instead of *Regalia Sancti Petri*, for we are not to imagin that Gregory 9. had any such thought to bring down the *Royalties of S. Peter* to the *ancient Canons*; and the oath which was taken had the *Regalia sancti Petri* alwayes in it from Gregory 7. time: unless they hoped to deceive the *simple* by this means, for we find that even *Cassander* himself thought there had been no other *Form* besides that in the *Canon Law*, till the *Bishop* of Munster sent him the *Form* he was to take; wherein were the *Regalia sancti Petri*, as they are now in the *Pontifical*. But if the strictest tye of Allegiance to the Pope as their *Soveraign* were not intended by this oath,

Concil. General. To. II. p. 2. p. 379.

oath, why could not the *Popes* be contented with the former oath of *Canonical Obedience*, which from the time of *Boniface* was required by the *Pope* of all *Metropolitans* together with the *Pall*, although many refused to submit their necks to that Yoke.

De Concord. Sacerd. & I per. l. 6. c. 3. n. 13. Before A. D. 450. *Petrus de Marca* observes, nosuch thing as an Oath of *Canonical Obedience* from Bishops to the *Metropolitan* was used in the Church; and therefore *Leo I.*

reproves *Anastasius* of *Thessalonica* for requiring it from *Atticus* a Bishop under him; but afterwards by degrees it came into Use, as appears by the words of the Bishops of

Baron. ad A 590. n. 42. Formul. antiquæ promot in append. ad Tom. 2. Concil. Gall. ferm. 12.

Aquileia in *Baronius* to the Emperour *Mauricius*, and the profession made by *Adelbertus* to *Hincmarus* his *Metropolitan*. Whereas the *Metropolitans* themselves made only a bare profession of their faith, and a promise to their *Suffragan Bishops* to observe the *Canons* of the Church. But when *Gregory* sent *Boniface*, as his *Missionary* into *Germany*, he made him take an Oath over the *Reliques* of *S. Peter* in the *Vatican*, to be true and faithful to the interests of the *Roman See*, but still it was within the compass of the *Catholick Faith* and the *ancient Canons*: and this *Boniface* being a very faithful servant to the *Papal See*, makes it his business to perswade the *Bishops* of *Germany*

and

Serrar. Rerum Romanicar. l. 3. c. 19. Bonifac. Epistol. p. 163.

and France, to profess *subjection* to the Bishop of Rome ; and all the *Metropolitans* to receive *Palls* from thence, and to give *Canonical obedience* to the *Pope's decrees* : these things went very hardly down with the *Bishops* ; for two years after *A.D. 744.* Boniface complains to Pope Zachary, that he was afraid they would not keep their words ; but he assures the Pope it was none of his fault ; but at last they were wheedled into it under this pretence that it was only a mark of honour to receive the *Pall*, and not a badge of *subjection* ; and Hincmarus to'd Nicolaus 1. That he could receive no more power by it, than the *Canons* had given to *Metropolitans* already ; but when they were brought to receive the *Pall* the promise of *subjection* went down with it : the *Form* of which is extant among the ancient *Formulae* published by *Sirmondus*, wherein they promise to the Pope only *debitam subjectionem & obedientiam*, which is properly *Canonical Obedience*. Now if *Gregory 7.* had understood no more than that, why did he alter the *Oath*, and put in so many expressions which properly imply the same *Fealty* which *Vassals* owe to their *Lords*, or *Subjects* to their *Princes* ? I know not, how it came to pass that so jealous a *Prince* of his own *Rights* as *Henry 1.* came to suffer the

Bonifacii
epist. 105.
p. 144.

Bonifac. ep.
141. p. 211.

Hincmar. ep.
26. p. 310.
Tom. 2.

Formul. antiq.
13. append. ad
To. 2. Concil.
Gall.
p. 656.

Baron. A.
1102.
n. 5, 8;

new *Archbishop* to take this *oath* to the *Pope* ; but this is certain that it was extremely disgusted in other *Countries*. For *Baronius* tells us that the *Kings* and *Nobility* of *Sicily* and *Poland* were very much offended at it, as a thing there was no ground for in the ancient *Councils* ; as though saith *Paschal* 2. in answer to them, *the Councils* could set bounds to the *Popes* Authority : which was bravely said and like a *Prince* that endeavoured to make the greatest *Bishops* his *Vassals* ; but I cannot imagine what satisfaction this could give to *Secular Princes*, who might easily discern how much their own *Power* was lessened by these manifest encroachments upon it, by the exacting oaths of *Allegiance* from some of the most considerable of their *Subjects*, to a *Forraign Power*.

§. 8. After the death of *Henry* 1. the *Papal power* got more ground in the troublesome Reign of *King Stephen*, than ever it had done before ; For his title being very bad, he saw it was the more necessary for him to strengthen it by the *Popes* Authority. To which end, after his Consecration by *William Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, who together with *Stephen* had before sworn *Allegiance* to *Maud* the *Empress*,
he

he sends to the *Pope* for a Confirmation of his *Title*, which the *Pope* very amply sends him ; and the *Bull* is extant among our Historians ; wherein among other things he takes notice, *that on the day of his consecration* (as the *Pope* calls it) *he promised obedience and reverence to S. Peter* ; which no doubt went very far in his *Title* : and the *Bishop* of *Winchester* his Brother told him (as *Malmsbury* relates who lived in that time) *that he came to the Crown not by any military power but by the Churches Favour, and therefore he ought to be kind to it* ; and so he was it seems at first, for he yielded to their own terms, as *Gul. Newburgensis* saith, and the *Bishops* did swear only a conditional *Allegiance* to him, viz. *as long as he preserved the Liberty of the Church*. To give them therefore all the satisfaction they desired, he made that *Oath* extant in *Malmsbury*, wherein he put all *Ecclesiastical Persons and Things* under their own jurisdiction ; and when afterwards he violated this *Liberty*, his own Brother being then the *Popes* Legat, presumed to summon him to appear before his *Ecclesiastical High Court of Justice*, and to give him an account of what he had done in daring to imprison the *Bishops* of *Salisbury* and *Lincoln* : For, said he, *if the Bishops do any thing amiss, the*

Richard.
Prior. H-
gulstad.
inter 10.
Script. p.
313.

Malmsbur.
hist. Novell.
l. 2. p. 103.

Gul. New-
burg. l. 1.
c. 4.

Malmsb.
l. 1. p. 101.

King hath nothing to do to judge them, but they must be left to the Canons; and with-
all he adds, that the King was bound to give them an account of what he had done: but the King sent them word that he appealed to Rome; and so the business fell. Thus we see how much he advanced the Popes power by yielding to a Legatine Power here, to hear causes, and suffering himself to be called to an account before it; by which example, Appeals grew very frequent and troublesome in his time, as our Historians sadly complain; and the Bishops and Monks went commonly over to Rome upon Appeals; nay Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury went to the Pope, then in France, expressly against the Kings command, and the Pope suspended the rest that did not come; and William Archbishop of York was deposed by the Pope, meerly because nominated by the King, and another put into his Room without the Kings consent, or approbation: the right of Investitures was condemned in a Council held at Westminster, and the infringers of Ecclesiastical Liberty punished with Excommunication, not to be taken off but by the Pope himself; and after the reconciliation between Stephen and Henry 2. the effect of it, saith Radulphus de Diceto, was, that the Churches Dominion was exalted by it.

§. 9. This

Radulph.
de Diceto.
p. 509.

Chron. Ger-
v. Doro-
bora. p.
1363.
Richard.
Harvill.
326.
Howard.
A. 1143.

Radulph.
de Diceto.
imag. lib.
p. 528.

§. 9. This was the state of things here, when *Henry* the second came to the possession of the *Crown*; all the *Customs* of his Ancestors which they accounted *Rights* of the *Crown* were lost during the Usurpation of *Stephen*, and strange insolencies and villanies were committed under the pretence of *Ecclesiastical Liberty*, or the unaccountable of *Ecclesiastical Persons* for their actions to Civil Justice: which made the Judges complain to the *King* of the *thefts*, *rapines*, and *murders* frequently committed by *Clergy-men*, over whom they had then no jurisdiction; and as *Gulielmus Newburgensis* saith, the *Bishops* were more concerned to defend their *priviledges*, than to punish offenders, and thought they did God and the Church service in protecting them from the hands of Justice. By which means things were come to that height between the *Civil* & *Ecclesiastical Power*, that one or the other must yeild; the *Ecclesiastical Power* being in the hands of *Thomas Becket*; a man after the *Popes* own heart, and in whom the very soul of *Gregory* the seventh seemed to have come into the World again; and the *Civil Power* in the management of *Henry* the second, a Prince of a high Spirit and great courage, and that could not easily bear the

Gal. N. m.
b. 1. c. 12.
c. 16.

least diminution of his Power. And where there was so much matter prepared; and such heat on both sides, it was no great difficulty to fore-tell a storm, when the Clouds that hovered in the air should clap together, or fall upon each other. This was foreseen by the more discerning men of that time when they found the *King* bent upon making him *Archbishop* after the death of *Theobald*: For however *Becket* himself boasted of the freedom of his election and the consent of the Clergie and Kingdom in it, yet in the *Epistle* sent to him by the *Bishops* and Clergie of the whole Province, they plainly tell him, the *Kings Mother* dissuaded him from it, the whole Kingdom was against it, and the Clergie sighed and groaned as much as they durst; but the *King* would have it so. For the *King* being then in *Normandy* sent over his great Minister *Richard de Lucy* on purpose to let the *Suffragan Bishops* and the *Monks* of *Canterbury* understand his pleasure, that he would have *Becket* chosen *Archbishop*. Which the *Bishop* of *London* in his excellent *Epistle* to *Becket* (which gives a more true account of the *Intrigues* of the whole quarrel than any thing yet extant, and which *Baronius* could not but see in the *Codex Vaticanus*, although he takes no notice

Cod. Cotton.
l. i. Ep. 125.

Codex Cottonian. Epistol. l. i.
Ep. 123.

Hoveden.
Annal. part. post. p. 292.
Baron. A.
1167. n. 32.

Gilbert
London. Epistol. Thomæ Cantuar. l. i.
Ep. 126. in Cod. Cotton.
MS.

rice at all of it) tells him, *was a greater invasion of the Churches Liberties, than any of those things he made such ado about.* You, saith he, now tell us that we ought to obey God rather than men : would to God we had done so then; but because we had not the courage to do it then, therefore we now suffer shame and confusion for it, and the tears run down our cheeks for the calamities that are come upon us. By which we may judge of the truth of the *Quadripartite History*, written by Thomas his own Disciples, as *Baronius* confesseth, for therein *Herebertus* and *Jo. Sarisburiensis* tell of Thomas his protesting against his being Archbishop to the King, and his being hardly perswaded to it by the Popes Legat ; whereas the Bishop of London proves to *Becket* himself, that during *Theobalds* Life he had his eye upon it, and made all the interest he could to obtain it upon his death, that he gave several thousand Marks to the King to be Chancellor, hoping by that means to come the easier into the See of Canterbury, that being in Normandy at *Theobalds* death, he posted over, and the Kings Favourite brought his command for his election. And it is likewise confessed by *Fitz Stephen* in the *MS. History of Becket's Life*, that the whole Clergie knew it

Baron. A.

1162. n. 21.

Vit. S. Tho:
me Cant.MS. in bib:
lioth. Cot. 303

p. 10.

it was the Kings pleasure he should be made Archbishop ; and that Gilbert, then only Bishop of Hereford, (afterwards of London) dissuaded all that he could from his election ; and after said , that the King had done a strange thing , viz. he had made a Souldier Archbishop of Canterbury ; for but a little before he had been in arms with the King at Tholouse. And this opposition of his, he calls not only God to witness, was not out of any ambitious desire to have been in his Room, (as Thomas and the Monks charge him) but Becket himself, for no man could attempt any such thing, but he must know it, his Favour being so great with the King then. But it seems, the wiser men among the Bishops, thought that by reason of his insolent, rash, and inflexible temper, (which even his Friends complained of in him) he would bring all things into confusion. When he was summoned at Northampton to appear before the King, he would needs carry the Cross with his own hands into the Court ; upon which the Bishop of London told him, he behaved himself as if he had a mind to disturb the whole Kingdom ; You carry the Cross, saith he, and what if the King should take his Sword ? but, said he to one that stood by, He alwayes was a Fool, and ever will be one. These things

Joh. Saris-
bur. l. 1.
er. 85. l. 2.
ep. 28, 29.

Fitz Ste-
phn. vit.
Thon. Cant.
p. 25.
Codex Cot-
ton. p. 10.

things I only mention, to let men see what apprehensions the more prudent men of that time had of the likelihood of great disturbances coming to the Church by his ill management, although by the rashness of others added to his, he hath had the fortune to be accounted a *Saint* and a *Martyr*.

§. 10. But my business is not, to write a particular account of all the passages between the King and him, after the difference between them; which hath been so largely done by *Baronius*, and our own *Historians*; but I shall shew, that the Controversie between them was about *Gregory* the seventh's principles, and if he dyed a *Martyr* for any thing, it was in defence of these. Which I shall the rather do, since I find his *Life* very lately published in *French* with a high character of him, and dedicated to the *King of France*; but especially because I find, that those among us of that Religion, who disown *Gregory* the seventh's principles, are willing to believe him a *Martyr* upon other grounds, viz. that his quarrel with the King was upon the account of the ancient Municipal Laws of England which had a respect to the immunities of Clergymen.

*La Vie de
S. Thomas
de Cantor-
bury. 4 P.
1674.*

*History of
the Irish
Remou-
strance,
from p. 397
to 462.*

I shall therefore prove, 1. That the matters in Dispute between the *King* and *Becket*, were the very same that *Gregory* the seventh and his successors contended about, with *Christian Princes*. 2. That the pleas made use of by *Becket* and his party were no other, than those, which *Gregory* the seventh and his successors used, so that they had no relation at all to the *Municipal Laws*, but to the controversie then on Foot between the *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical Power*. In both which I hope to make some passages clearer than they have yet been, having had the advantage of perusing several *MSS.* relating to this matter, and especially that *Volume* of *Epistles*, which *Baronius* accounts an *unvaluable Treasure*; and as far as I can perceive, the *Cotton MS.* is more compleat than the *Vatican*, which *Baronius* made use of.

Ed. Ox. A.
T. 162. n. 21.

1. For the matters in Dispute between them. The whole controversie might be reduced to two heads. 1. Whether *Ecclesiastical Persons* were unaccountable to the *Civil Power* for any misdemeanours committed by them? 2. Whether the *Pope* had the *Sovereign Power* over *Princes* and all under them, so that he might contradict the *Kings Laws and Customs*, and command his *Subjects* against his consent to come to him?

him? and whether the *Kings Subjects* in such cases were not bound to obey the *Pope*, let the *King* command what he please? These, in truth, were the points in debate, and the most weighty particulars in the *Customs* of *Clarendon* were but as so many branches of these. In that Copy of them which is extant in the *Cotton MS.* and was drawn up by the *Kings* own Order, the occasion of them is set down, to have been the differences which had happened between the *Clergie* and the *Kings Justices* and the *Barons* of the *Kingdom* about the *Customs* and *Dignities* of the *Crown*; the most considerable of those which the *Pope* condemned were concerning

1. The Tryal of *Titles* of *Advowsons* and *Presentations* in the *Kings Courts*.
2. The Tryal of *Clergie-men* before the *Kings Judges*; and the *Churches* not defending them after conviction or confession.
3. That neither *Archbishops*, *Bishops* or others should go out of the *Kingdom*, without the *Kings* consent, and giving security to the *King*, that in going, staying, or returning, they will do nothing to the prejudice either of the *King* or *Kingdom*.
4. The profits of *Ecclesiastical Courts* upon absolutions, for they demanded not barely personal security of all excommunicated persons, to stand to the *Churches* judgements, but *Vadium ad re-*

manens

Cod. Cottar.

l. 1. l. 12.

Cod. Cot. 61.
L. 1. ep. 49.

manens as the *Law term* was then, which implies *real security*, or so much money laid down which was to come to the *Court*, if they did not perform the conditions expressed. For it was one of the things the *Kings Ambassadour* complained of to his Mother the *Empress*, that the matters in controversy were not things of advantage to mens souls, but to their own purses; and that the Faults of Offenders were not punished in the Ecclesiastical Courts by the injoyning of Penance, but by the giving of money. And the *Empress* her self in her discourse with *Nicholas de Monte* the *Archbishops Friend*, insisted on these pecuniary mulcts for sins as one of the great occasions of the troubles; which made people suspect this pretence of Ecclesiastical Liberty to be only a cloak for their own profits. But however the good *Pope*, whether he understood this *Vadium ad remanens* or no, at all adventures condemned it. For what should the *Court of Rome* do without exchanging Money for Sins? 5. That no Person who held of the King in capite, or belonged to him should be excommunicated, or have his Land interdicted without making the King acquainted with it, or his Justice in his absence. 6. That in matters of Appeal, they were to proceed from the Arch-deacon to the

the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Arch-bishop, and from thence to the King, and not to proceed farther without his express leave. These were the main things in dispute; and what do they all amount to, but the very same Rights of the Crown which the Kings predecessors did insist upon? and what could be the sense of Becket in opposing them, but that Clergie-men were not accountable for their Faults to the Civil Power, and in case of the Popes command, whether upon appeal or otherwise, Bishops and others were to go to his Court in spite of the King? as Anselm and Theobald had done before. It is agreed by Baronius himself, that the quarrel brake out, upon the Arch-bishops denying to deliver up the Clergie-man that was accused and convicted of Murder after Ecclesiastical Censure to the Secular Power; which the King earnestly desired, and Becket as peremptorily denied. And upon what principle could this be done, but the highest pretence of Ecclesiastical Liberty, that ever Gregory the seventh or any other asserted? And it is plain by this, that the King did not deny the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor hindered the proper Censures of the Church upon offenders; but the Question was meerly this, Whether Ecclesiastical persons having committed crimes against the publick

Baron. A.
1163. n. 19.

lick peace, were only to be punished with *Ecclesiastical Censures*, and never to be delivered over to *Civil Justice*? Which was the main hinge of the *Cause*, and which *Becket* stood to, to the last. And that this was the true *State* of the *Controversie* appears by the representation made of it to *Alexander* the third by the whole *Clergie* of the *Province* of *Canterbury*: who confess that the peace of the *Kingdom* was very much disturbed by the insolence and crimes of some of the *Clergie* (for upon the account of this exemption, any Villains were safe, if they could but get into any kind of Orders;) the *King* for the safety of his people, pressed the *Bishops* after their *Censures* to give such guilty persons up to the *Laws*, because bare degrading was by no means sufficient punishment for wilful murder, which was all the *Church censures* reached to. This all the *Bishops* at first opposed as derogatory to the *Churches Liberty*, but afterwards (*Becket* excepted) the rest saw a necessity of yielding at present, for, as they confess themselves, this liberty was extended even to a *Lector* or *Acolythus*; and the *Empress Matildis* said, that the *Bishops* gave orders very loosely without titles; by which we may easily imagine what a miserable state the whole *Kingdom* might be

Cod. Cotton.
l. 1. ep. 127.

Cod. Cotton.
l. 1. ep. 49.

be in if these things were suffered. So that we see the plea insisted upon at the beginning of the quarrell was, that no persons in any *Ecclesiastical Orders*, upon any crime whatsoever, were to be delivered over to be punished by the *Secular Power*. And what could such a pretence arise from, but only from *Gregory* the seventh's principles of Government? viz. *that the Civil Power had nothing at all to do with Ecclesiastical Persons, and that all the Subjection and Obedience they owed was only to the Pope as their Sovereign; and that this was the Liberty which Christ purchased for his Church with his own blood, as Paschal the second answered the Emperours Ambassadors, and as Becket very frequently expresses it in his Epistles. A blessed Liberty! and worthy the purchase of the Blood of Christ; viz. a Liberty to sin without fear of punishment, or at least any punishment which such persons would be afraid of; for the utmost Becket could be perswaded to in the case of the Canon of Bedford convicted of murder, was only to confine him to a Monastery for a time: which was a very easie expiation of Murder; So that the Benefit of Clergie was a mighty thing in those dayes. But it is impossible to give any tolerable account of Beckets actions, unless we suppose this to*

have

*Suger. vit.
Londor.*

have been his *Ground and Principle*, that *God had exempted by his Law all Clergymen, by vertue of being such, from any subjection to Civil Power*: For if they owe any subjection, they are accountable for their breaches of the *Laws* to that power to which they are subject; if they are not accountable for any crimes they must be supposed to be wholly independent on the Civil Government.

§. 11. Neither is there any ground for such an exemption by the ancient *Municipal Laws of England*, either in the *Saxon*, or *Norman times* : and I cannot but wonder to see the *Laws of Princes* concerning *Ecclesiastical Persons*, brought to prove their total exemption from the power of *Princes*; which was that *Ecclesiastical liberty* which *Becket* did plead for. For according to his principles, neither *Alfred*, nor *Edward*, nor *Canutus*, nor any other Prince had any thing to do to appoint the punishments of *Ecclesiastical Persons* ; but their judgement was to be wholly left to their own *Superiours*. And supposing there had been such *Laws* among the *Saxons*, *Becket* would not have valued them at all, but rather have thought them a prejudice to his Cause, and an encouragement to *Hen. 2.* to have repealed those

those and made others in their place. For why should not the *Power* of this *King* be as good as the *Saxons* to make and alter *Ecclesiastical Laws* as they saw convenient? but *Becket* understood his business better than so. He would not upon any terms be brought to the tryal, whether they were *ancient Customs* or no which the *King* contended for: the *King* offered it very frequently, and by any fair ways of tryal, and declared he would renounce them if they did not appear to be so, he appealed often to the judgement of the *Church of England* about it, and would stand and fall by it; and none of these things would be accepted of: by which it is evident that either there were no *Laws* could justify *Becket*, or he thought the producing them would be hurtful to his cause; for not one of all the *Customs* he excepted against, was in his opinion so bad, as for *Princes* to take upon themselves to determine *Ecclesiastical causes*, and to appoint the *punishments* of *Ecclesiastical Persons*. For then he knew the *King* need not to stand upon the proof of his other *Customs*; this one *Right* of the *Crown* would put an end to the whole dispute. For if *Henry 2.* had the same *Power* that *Edgar* had, when he said, *that the tryal of the manners of Ecclesiastical Persons belonged to him, and*

*Aitred. de
Genealog.
Reg. Angl.
p. 360.*

Cc

therefore

therefore gave *Authority* to *Dunstan* and the rest to *expell criminal Clergy-men* out of *Churches and Monasteries*, why might not he punish *Ecclesiastical persons*? And then to what purpose had *Becket* contended with the *King*, if he had allowed him as much power as the *Saxon Kings* did make use of? And what if the *Saxon Laws* did appoint the *Bishops* to examin *Clergy-men*, and pass sentence upon them in *criminal causes*? was not the punishment already established by the *Kings Laws*, and the *Bishop* only the *Minister* of the *Kings Justice* upon *Ecclesiastical Delinquents*?

*Leges Edw.
Coff. ff. c. 5.*

And even in the *Laws* of *Edward* the *Confessor*, in case of default in *Ecclesiastical Courts*, a liberty is allowed of going to other *Courts*; and in the *Laws* of the elder *Edward*, any one in *Orders* is appointed to make compensation according to the nature of his crime, and without sureties he was to go into prison; but in case of a capital offence, he was to be taken, that he might undergo penance from the *Bishop* for his fault.

*Leg. Edw.
Sen. c. 3.*

Where, by capital offence we are not to understand such as were punished with death, but the *Penitential Canons* of *Egbert* tell us by capital crimes were understood *Pride*, *Envy*, *Fornication*, *Adultery*, *Perjury*, &c.

*Egbert. Penit.
Excerpt.
c. 5.*

But the *Laws* of *Canutus* appoint degradation

dition for murder by a Clergy-man ; and compensation and banishment withal, which were Civil punishments after degradation, the very thing which Becket denyed, and in case this compensation were not undertaken within thirteen days, then the Person was to be out-Law'd, which to be sure, was a civil punishment. By the Laws of King Alured, if a Priest killed a man he was to lose his priviledges, and the Bishop was to expel him out of the Temple being already degraded, unless due compensation were made ; i. e. if he did not undergo the Civil punishment : For then the greatest crimes, (excepting murder of a Prince or Lord by his Subject or Vassal, or killing any in a Sacred place, or Treason) might be expiated by pecuniary Mulcts, and Ecclesiastical Penance, according to the Pœnitential Canons. For it appears by the old Pœnitential Canons of Theodore and Egbert, that murder had so many years penance appointed for its expiation, which had been a vain thing, if it had been punished with death ; now in this case it was but reasonable, that the guilty Person should be delivered to the Bishop to receive his Penance ; whether he were a Clergy-man or Lay-man ; And the Laws of Princes did inforce them to submit to Ecclesiastical Penance. So King Alured

*Leges Can-
nati. c. 33.*

*Leges Alu-
red. c. 21.*

*Theod. Ca-
non. Pœnit.
c. 9.
Egberti Ca-
non. Pœni-
tent. c. 3.*

Leges Alu-
red. c. 1.

Leges Ed-
mund. c. 34.

Leges Ed-
gar. c. 5.
Legis Ca-
nut. c. 17.

commands in case of perjury, that the Person be taken into the Kings custody for forty dayes, that he might undergo the Penance which the Bishop shall impose upon him ; and if he escaped he was not only to be anathematized, but put out of all protection of the Law : and by the Laws of King Edmund any Person guilty of Murder was not to come into the Kings presence till he had undergone the Penance enjoyned him by the Bishop : And from hence I suppose it was, that in the Saxon Times, the Bishop and the Sheriff sate together in the same Court, as appears by the Laws of Edgar and Canutus, not barely to instruct the people in the Laws of God and man ; but as the Sheriff was to appoint the civil penalty, so the Bishop was to enjoin penance according to the nature of the Fault : and one of these did not exclude the other, but, he that did pay such a pecuniary mulct to the Sheriff, did undergo so many years penance besides. Therefore the Laws which mention persons being delivered to the Bishop for Penance, do by no means imply that they were excused from any Civil penalty either before or after it : as might be proved from the Laws of the Empire, and the Capitulars, if it were needful. So that in the Saxon times, if a Clergy-man were guilty of wilful murder,

murder, the pœnitential Canons imposed ten years penance upon him, of which seven were to be spent in banishment; but besides this, the legal compensation was to be made, as is evident by the Laws of Edward and Canutus: from whence it appears, how very slender the pretence is of Becket's contending for the ancient Saxon Laws, when he denied the giving up a Clergy-man convicted of murder to the Secular Power after Ecclesiastical Censures. But where is there the least Foundation in the Saxon times, for such open defiance of the Civil Power, as to the punishment of offenders of what degree or order soever? and that was the case of Becket, the King only desired that Justice might be executed indifferently on all Persons, and the ancient Customs revived; but he would not yield as to either of these, not upon the pretence of former Laws, but the repugnancy he supposed to be in them to that Ecclesiastical Liberty, which he said, Christ had purchased with his Blood.

Egbert. Canon. Pœnit. c. 7.

§. 12. After the Norman Conquest, the Ecclesiastical and Civil Courts were first separated, as appears by the Grant of William the Conquerour to Remigius Bishop of Lincoln, and many others to the same purpose; but I find no particular exemption

Selden. not. ad Eadmer. p. 167.

Henry 1.
Leges. c. 73.

Fitz Steph.
lit. S. Thom.
p. 15.

Kadul b. de
Dieto
Imag histor.
p. 536.

of a criminal Clergy-man from the Civil Power established. The main plea is from the confirmation of the *Saxon Laws*, but to how little purpose that is, is already shewed. By the *Laws of Henry 1.* if a Bishop committed murder, he was to be deposed, and undergo twelve years penance, seven of which were to be with bread and water: if a Priest or Monk, he was to lose his Order and to undergo ten years penance; if a Deacon, to lose his Orders, and to have seven years penance; if a Clerk only (i. e. in inferior Orders) six years penance; and then it follows, if a Lay-man, five years penance; which was very prudently left out with an &c. by P. W. because it marring all the rest; for if according to these *Laws*, Clergy-men had an exemption from Civil Justice, so had the Laity too; and upon better terms, for their penance is but half that of a Priest or a Monk, and not half of a Bishop. But after Henry 1. the penance was turned into a pecuniary mulct, as King Henry 2. complained, and men committed the greatest crimes at a certain rate, by which means abundance of villanies, and murders, and rapines were daily committed; and in Henry 2. time, the Kings Justices complained of it to the King, who commands them to punish all offenders severely; and if

if any *Clergy-men* were convicted, they were to be delivered to the *Bishop* to be degraded by him in the presence of the *Kings Justice*, and so to be returned to the Court to be punished ; but in the case of the *Canon of Bedford*, *Becket* utterly denies the delivering him up to the *Kings Justice* after degrading. *Fitz Stephen* gives more instances, which exasperated the King, one whereof was, of a person who had deflowered the daughter and murdered the Father, whom *Henry 2.* would have punished according to Law, but the *Archbishop* would not suffer him to be delivered up to the *Kings Justice*. (Yet methinks it might bear a dispute how far a person degraded is capable of *Ecclesiastical immunities* ; but *Becket*, it seems, extended them to all that were or had been such ; or it may be, the indelible character preserved still some title to a legal impunity in sinning.) The *King* apprehending the very bad consequences of such an exemption of all sorts of *Clergy-men* from Civil punishments, and not knowing what the late encroachments upon the *Civil Power* by the *Ecclesiastical* might come to (for so *Fitz Stephen* saith, some about the King told him, if these things were suffered, and the *Archbishop* let alone, his Royal Authority would come to nothing, and the *Clergy* would make

Fitz. Steph.
vit. Thom.
P. 19.

Fitz. Steph.
vit. S. Thom.
P. 14.

whom they pleased King, as they had shewed their power and will already, in the case of King Stephen) therefore the King resolves to resume all the *Rights* of his *Ancestors*, and to have a solemn *recognition* made of them in *Parliament*. But first he treats with all the *Bishops* at *Westminster* to know whether they would observe the *Ancient Customs*? they gave him a shuffling answer, that they would do it *salvo ordine suo & jure Ecclesie*: which the King took for a denial, and was extremely enraged at it. The *Bishop* of *London* confesses, that they all agreed in the denial, and gave this as the reason, because their yielding to those *Customs* was repugnant to the *Liberty* of the *Church*, and the *Fidelity* they owed to the *Pope*: which was a plain confession of the true state of the *Controversie*, whether the *King* or the *Pope* were to be obeyed in those matters? *Baronius* tells us, that *Becket* sent over an express to the *Pope* (being then at *Sens*) to know what they were to do in the straits they were in, the *Pope* encourages them to stand up for *Ecclesiastical Liberty* to the utmost; notwithstanding this, the *King* resolves to have a *recognition* of these *Customs* at *Clarendon*, where the *Authors* of the *Quadripartite History* say the whole *Kingdom* was present, and they confess, that

Becket

Gilbert.
London.
Epist. l. I.
ep. 126.

Bayon. A.
1163. n.
23, 26.

Becket with the rest of the Bishops did promise the King to observe them Bona Fide: which they parallel with S. Peters fall in denying Christ: But the Bishop of London in his Epistle to Becket gives a more particular account of it, which is worth our notice: Three dayes, he sayes, all the Bishops withstood the Kings desire, and no threats could move them, but they resolved rather than to yield to dye upon the spot for Christ and his Church, (as he speaks) at last Becket withdrew from them, and coming in again used these words to them; It is the Kings pleasure I should forswear my self at present, and I will do it and repent afterwards; (were not these brave Heroick words for a Saint and a Martyr?) at the hearing of them, he saith, they were all astonished, and their hearts failed them; and so they all promised in verbo veritatis to observe the ancient Customs. Thus, saith he, was the Controversie then ended between the Kingdom and Priesthood, and so Israel descended into Egypt. But notwithstanding this solemn promise, in a few dayes Becket breaks his word, and attempts to go beyond Sea without the Kings leave: at which the King was extreemly troubled, and as the Bishop of London saith, had rather he had wounded his body than his reputation

A. 1164.

n. 3.

putation by such an escape into forreign parts, where he was sure to be represented as a Tyrant and persecutor of the Church. Becket was driven back by a Tempest, the King takes no notice of it, uses him kindly, and bids him take care of his Church. Not long after, a Controversie happened about some Lands which Becket challenged as belonging to his Church, the King sends to him to do justice to the Person concerned in it : notwithstanding complaints are brought to the King for want of it, the King sends a summons to him to appear before him, that he might have the hearing of the Cause. Becket refuses to obey the summons, and sends the King word he would not obey him in this matter : at which saucy answer, the King was justly provoked, as a great disparagement to his Royal Authority. Upon this he calls the Parliament at Northampton, where the People met as one man ; the King represents his case, with becoming modesty and eloquence : however, he consented that his fault should be expiated by a pecuniary mulct : after this the King exhibited a complaint against him for a great sum of money received by him, during his Chancellorship which he had never given account for : (it was 44000 Marks, as the Bishop of London told the Cardinals

dinals who were sent by the Pope afterwards to end the Controversie) *Becket* pleaded that he was discharged by his promotion, (as though, as the *Bishop* of *London* said, promotion were like *Baptism* that wiped away all Scores.) But this being a meer Civil Cause, as the *Bishop* tells *Becket*, yet he denied to give answer to the King and appealed to the Pope, as the judge of all men living, saith *Sarisburyensis* ; and soon after in a disguise he slips over the Sea, and hastens to the Pope ; who received him with great kindness, and then he resigns his *Arch-bishoprick* into the *Popes* hands, as our *Historians* generally agree, because he received investiture from the King, and takes it again from the Pope. This is the just and true account of the state of the Controversie, as it is delivered by one of the same time, that knew all the intrigues, and which he writes to *Becket* himself, who never answered it that I can find, nor any of his party ; and by one, who was a Person of great reputation with the Pope himself, for his Learning, Piety, and the severity of his Life. And is it now possible to suppose that *Gregory* 7. if he had been in *Becket's* place, could have managed his cause with more contempt of Civil Government than he did ? when he refused to obey the Kings summons,

Cod. Cottor.
l. 2 ep. 7.
--cp. 38.

Joh. Saris-
bur. in Cod.
Cottor. l.
2. ep. 64.

Codex Cot-
tor. l. 1.
ep. 63 l. 2.
ep. 111, 112.

summons, declined his *Judicature* in a *Civil Cause*, and broke his *Laws* against his own solemn promise, and *perjured* himself for the Popes honour. If this be only defending ancient priviledges of the *Church*, I may expect to see some other moderate men of the Roman Church plead for *Gregory 7.* as only a stout defender of the ancient *Canons*, and an enemy to the *Popes temporal Power*. But men are to be pit-tyed when they meet with an untoward objection (such as that from *Beckets Saintship* and *Martyrdom* is to prove the doctrine of *Ecclesiastical Liberty* and the *Popes temporal Power* to be the sense of their Church) if they cannot find that they endeavour to make a way to escape; and I hope the Persons I now deal with have more ingenuity than to think this new pretence any satisfactory plea for *Beckets Cause*. And as the *Bishop of London* tells *Becket*, it is not the suffering, but the cause which makes a *Martyr*: to suffer hardship with a good mind is honour to a man; but to suffer in a bad cause and obstinately is a reproach; and in this dispute, he saith, the whole weight of it lay upon the *Kings power*, and some Customs of his *Ancestors*, and the King would not quit the Rights of his *Crown* which were confirmed by *Antiquity*, and the long
usage

usage of the Kingdom : This is the cause why you draw your sword against the Sacred Person of the King, in which it is of great consequence to consider that the King doth not pretend to make new Laws, but as the whole Kingdom bears him witness, such as were practised by his Ancestors. And although it appears, that he wished well to the main of *Becket's Cause*; yet he blames him exceedingly for rashness, indiscretion and insolency in the management of it; and bids him remember, that Christ never entred *Zacchæus's* house till he came down from the *Sycamore Tree*; and that the way of humility did far better become him, and was likely to prevail more with the King, than that which he took.

§. 13. But *Becket* being out of the Kings reach, and backed by the King of France, and favoured by the Court of Rome, made nothing of charging the King with *Tyranny*; as he and his party do very frequently in the *Volume of Epistles*; and because the Empress his Mother pleaded for some of the Customs as *antient Rights of the Crown*, she is said to be of the race of *Tyrants* too. The King finding himself thus beset with a swarm of Hornets, makes use of his own Power to secure himself from farther attempts

Cod. Cottor.
l. 2. ep. 41,
52, 54, 61,
63, 64.

L. I. ep. 49.

attempts upon his *Crown* and *Royal Authority*, which was exposed to such publick ignominy in *forreign parts*: and therefore sends this precept to all the *Bishops* to suspend the profits of all such *Clergie-men* as adhered to him.

Cod. Cotton.
p. 26. b.

Nosti quam male Thomas Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus operatus est adversus me & Regnum meum, & quam male recesserit, & ideo mando tibi quod Clerici sui qui circa ipsum fuerint post fugam suam, & alii Clerici qui detraxerunt honori meo, & honori Regni, non percipiant aliquid de redditibus illis quos habuerant in Episcopatu tuo nisi per me, nec habeant aliquod auxilium nec consilium a Te, Teste Richardo de Luci apud Marlebergam.

1b.

After this, the *King* commands the *Sheriffs* to imprison every one that appealed to the *Court of Rome*, and to keep them in hold till his pleasure were known: and he causes all the *Ports* to be watched, to prevent any *Letters of Interdict* from the *Pope*; and if any *Regular* brought them, he was to have his feet cut off; if in *Orders*, he was to lose his eyes and something else: and if he were a *Lay-man*, he was to be hanged. Accordingly the *Popes Nuntio* was taken with *Letters of the Popes* coming over for *England*, and imprisoned by the *Kings Order*.

Cod. Cotton.
l. 1. ep. 40.

der. But the difference still growing higher, and the *King* being threatned with *ex-communication*, and the *Kingdom* with an *interdict* ; the *King* commands an *Oath* to be taken against receiving *Bulls* from the *Pope* , or obeying him, or the *Archbishop* , and the penalty no less than that of *Treason* : which is so remarkable a thing , I shall give it in the words of the *MS.*

A. D. MCLXIX. Rex Henricus jurare facit omnem Angliam a laico duodenni vel *Cod. Cottor.*
 quindecim annorum, contra Dom. Papam A- *l. 4. ep. 54.*
 lexandrum & B. Thomam Archiepiscopum,
 quod eorum non recipient literas, neque
 obedient mandatis. Et si quis inventus
 foret literas eorum deferens, traderetur
 Potestatibus tanquam Coronæ Regis capitalis
 inimicus.

Here we see an *Oath* of *Supremacy* made so long ago by *Henry* the second, and those who out of zeal , or whatsoever motive brought over *Bulls* of the *Popes*, made lyable to the charge of *Treason* : but the *Archbishop* by vertue of his *Legatine Power* took upon him to send persons privately into *England*, and to absolve them from this *Oath*, as is there expressed.

The same year, the *King* being in *Normandy* sent over these *Articles* to be sworn and observed by the *Nobles* and *People* of *England*.

I. If

Cod. Cotton.

l. 1. p. 27.

1. If any one be found carrying Letters from the Pope, or any Mandate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, containing an Interdict of Religion in England, let him be taken, and without delay let justice pass upon him, as upon a Traytor to the King and Kingdom.

2. No Clergie-man, or Monk, or Lay-Brother may be suffered to cross the Seas; or return into England, unless he have a Pass from the Kings Justice for his going out, and of the King himself for his return; if any one be found doing otherwise, let him be taken and imprisoned.

3. No man may appeal either to the Pope or Arch-bishop; and no plea shall be held, of the Mandates of the Pope or Archbishop, nor any of them be received by any person in England; if any one be taken doing otherwise, let him be imprisoned.

4. No man ought to carry any Mandat either of Clergie-man or Laick to either of them on the same penalty.

5. If any Bishops, Clergie-men, Abbots, or Laicks will observe the Popes interdict, let them be forthwith banished the Realm, and all their Kindred; and let them carry no Chattels along with them.

6. That all the Goods and Chattels of those who favour the Pope or Archbishop, and
all

all their possessions of whatsoever rank, order, sex, or condition they be, be seized into the Kings hand and confiscated.

7. *That all Clergie-men having revenews in England, be summoned through every County, that they return to their places within three months, or their revenues to be seized into the Kings hands.*

8. *That Peter-pence be no longer paid to the Pope; but let them be gathered and kept in the Kings Treasury, and laid out according to his command.*

9. *That the Bishops of London and Norwich be in the Kings Mercy, and be summoned by Sheriffs and Bailiffs to appear before the Kings Justices to answer for their breach of the Statutes of Clarendon in interdicting the Land, and excommunicating the person of Earl Hugh, by vertue of the Popes Mandat, and publishing this excommunication without Licence from the Kings Justices.*

I hope these particulars will give full satisfaction, that the *Controversie* between King Henry the second and Becket, was not about some *antient Saxon Laws*, but the very same *principles*, which Gregory the seventh first openly defended of the *Popes temporal Power over Princes*, and the total

exemption of *Ecclesiastical Persons* from *Civil Judicatures*.

§. 14. 2. This will yet more appear, if we consider that the *Pleas* used by *Becket* and his party, were the very same which were used by *Gregory* the seventh and his *Successors*. The beginning of the quarrel we have seen, was about the *total exemption of Men in any kind of Ecclesiastical Orders from civil punishments*, which was the known and avowed principle of *Gregory* the seventh and his *Successors*; and it seems by *Fitz Stephen*, that several of the *Bishops* were for yielding them up to the *Secular Power* after deprivation; and said, that both *Law and Reason and Scripture* were for it: but *Becket* stood to it, that it was against *God and the Canons*; and by this means the *Churches Liberty* would be destroyed, for which in imitation of their *High-Priest* they were bound to lay down their lives: and bravely adds, that it was not greater merit of old for the *Bishops* to found the *Church of Christ* with their blood, than in their times to lay down their lives for this blessed liberty of the *Church*: and if an *Angel* from *Heaven* should persuade him to comply with the *King* in this matter he should

Fitz Steph.
vit. S
Thom. MS.
Cotton p. 16.

should be accursed. By which we see what apprehension *Becket* had of the nature of his *cause* from the beginning of it: for this was before the *King* insisted on the reviving the *Antient Customs* at *Clarendon*. Where it seems *Becket's* heart failed him, which the *Monks* and *Baronius* parallel with *S. Peters* denying *Christ*; but it seems the *Cock* that brought him to *Repentance*, was his *Cross-bearer*: who told him, that the *Civil Authority* disturbed all: that wickedness raged against *Christ* himself; that the *Synagogue* of *Satan* had profaned the *Lords Sanctuary*; that the *Princes* had sat and combined together against the *Lords Christ*; that this tempest had shaken the pillars of the *Church*, and while the *Shepherd* withdrew, the *sheep* were under the power of the *wolf*. A very loyal representation of the *King*, and all that adhered to his *Rights*! After this, he spoke plainly to him, and told him, he had lost both his conscience and his honour in conspiring with the *Devils instruments* in swearing to those cursed customs, which tended to the overthrow of the *Churches Liberty*. At which he sighed deeply, and immediately suspends himself from all Offices of his Function, till he should be absolved by the *Pope*; which was soon granted him. The *Pope* writes to the *King* very

Baron. A.
1164. n. 5.

Cod. Cotton.
p. 8.

Baron. A.
1164. n. 12.
Cod. Cotton.
l. 1. ep. 42.

sharply, for offering to usurp the things of Jesus Christ, and to oppress the poor of Christ by his Laws and Customs, and threatens him to be judged in the same manner at the day of judgement; and tells him of Saul, and Ozias, and Rehoboam, and parallels his sin with theirs, and bids him have a care of their punishments. And was all this zeal of the Pope only for the good old Saxon Laws? When the Bishop of Exeter begged the Archbishop at Northampton, to have regard to his own safety and theirs too, he told him, he did not savour the things of God: he had spoken much more pertinently according to P. W. if he had told him, he did not understand the Saxon Laws. When the Earl of Leicester came to him, to tell him, he must come and hear his sentence; he told him, that as much as his soul was better than his body, so much more was he bound to obey God and Him, than an earthly King: and for his part he declared he would not submit to the Kings judgement or theirs, in as much as he was their Father, and that he was only under God, to be judged by the Pope; and so appealed to him. Which being an appeal to the Pope in a Civil cause about accounts between the King and him, it does plainly shew, that he did not think the King had any Authority over him,

him, but that the *Pope* had a *temporal Power* over *Princes* to hear and determine Causes between them and their Subjects. And in his Letter to the *Pope* upon this appeal, he saith, that he was called as a *Laick* to answer before the *King*, and that he insisted upon this plea, that he was not to be judged there, nor by them; For what would that have been, but to have betrayed your Rights? and to have submitted spiritual things to temporal; and if he should have yielded to the *King*, it would have made him not a *King* but a *Tyrant*. And whereas the *Bishops* pleaded obedience to the *King*, he saith, they were bound corporally to the *King*, but spiritually to himself. What in opposition to the *King* about his own Rights? which were so plain in this case at *Northampton*, that the *Bishop* of *Chichester* charged him both with *Perjury* and *Treason*, because these things related to the *Kings* temporal Honour and Dignity; and therefore the *Bishops* were not bound to obey their *Archbishop*. The *Pope* applauds *Becket* for what he had done, and nulls the sentence against him, which was still taking more upon him the exercise of a *Temporal Power* over the *King*. But *Fitz Stephen*, who saith he was present at *Northampton* with *Becket*, saith, that when the *Bishop* of *Chichester* charged him

Baron. A.
1164. n. 24.

Cod. Cotton.
l. 1. ep. 26.

vit. s. Tho.
p. 31.

with his Oath at Clarendon, he replied, that what was against the Faith of the Church, and the Law of God, could not lawfully be kept; now these customs were never supposed to be against the Faith of the Church till Gregory the seventh had very subtilly found out the Henrician heresie, i. e. the heresie of Princes defending their own Rights against the Papal Usurpations: and he particularly insisted on this, that the Pope had condemned those Customs, and he adds, that we ought to receive what the Roman Church receives (for he knew no difference between the Court and Church of Rome) and to reject what that rejects: and concludes all with this, that his Oath at Clarendon was an unlawful Oath, and could not bind him. But what pretence were there for this, if he had only contended for the antient Municipal Laws? what unlawfulness could there be in swearing to observe the Kings Laws, although different from former Laws? So that the only way to excuse him from manifest perjury, is to suppose, that he looked on the Customs of Clarendon as repugnant to the Popes Decrees, and therefore not to be kept by him: and the Pope tells him, that God had reserved him to this time of tryal for the confirmation of Catholick and Christian Truth;

in

in which it must be impled, that which Becket defended against the King, was a part of the *Catholick Faith*, in the *Popes* judgement. In his *Epistle* to *Robert Earl of Leicester* he pleads for the *Liberty* of the Church, which *Christ* hath purchased with his blood; who then, saith he, dares bring her into slavery? who art thou that judgest another mans servant, to his own Master he ought to stand or fall? And all that he adviseth to for making up the breach, is their repentance and satisfaction for the injuries done to *Christ* and his Church. And whereas the *Bishop* of *London* had told him, that the King was willing to submit to the judgement of his Kingdom about his antient Rights; Becket replies, who is there in Earth or Heaven that dares judge of what God hath determined? humane things may be judged, but divine must be left as they are. In his *Epistle* to all the Clergie of *England*, he saith, that at *Northampton* *Christ* was judged again in his person before the Tribunal of *Pilat* (for him he understands by the name of *President*). In his *Epistle* to the King, he pleads, that the *Liberty* of the Church, (which he contended for) was purchased by *Christs* own blood; and adds farther, to the very hearts desire of *Gregory* the seventh, that it was certain

L. I. ep. 30.

L. I. ep. 124.

L. I. ep. 125.

L. I. ep. 60.

Hoved. An-
nal. p. 285.

that Kings did receive their power from the Church, and not the Church from them, but only from Christ: from whence he infers, that the King could not draw Clergie-men to secular Tribunals, or establisb. the Customs in dispute between them. I do not say as *Hoveden* doth, that these words were spoken in a Conference at *Chinun*, for they are a part of the *Epistle* sent to the King, not long after his banishment; and written in justification of his opposition to the Rights which the King challenged. Therefore I desire to know what these words can signifie to his purpose, unless they do imply such a derivation of Civil Power from the Church, that the Church may take cognizance of male-administration, or of the Civil Authorities taking to it self any of the priviledges belonging to the Church? For if all this related only to the Ceremonies of Coronation, it were to no more purpose than for an *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* to plead now, that the Kings power is derived from the Church, because the ceremony of inauguration is performed by him. Who would not smile at such a consequence? But we know that the Popes temporal Power over Princes was never more asserted than in that Age, that *Alexander* the third at that time challenged and exercised

cised it over the *Emperour* and other *Princes*, and that no man was more stiff in the *Popes Cause*, nor more eager for the exercise of his *Power* over our King than *Becket* was, and his actions discovered this to be his opinion, why then should men study to find *evasions* for these words which neither agree with the *course* of his *actions*, nor with the *doctrine* of that Age? Doth not *Becket* himself magnifie the *Popes power* to the greatest height? In his *Epistle* to the *Bishop* of *London*, he saith, *that none but an Infidel* L. I. ep. 117. *or Heretick*, or *Schismatick* dares dispute obedience to the *Popes commands*; *that no one under the Sun can pluck out of his hands*. And in one of his *Epistles* to the *Pope*, he makes very profane addreses to him, applying what the *Scripture* saith only of *God* and *Christ*, to him. *Exurge Domine,* L. 2. ep. 51. *noli tardare super nos : illumina faciem tuam super nos, & fac nobiscum secundum misericordiam tuam. Salva nos quia perimus :* and immediately adds, *let not our adversaries triumph over us ; yea, the adversaries of Christ and his Church ; quia nomen tuum invocavimus super nos.* And lest any should think these were addreses to *God*, although contained in a Letter to the *Pope*; it follows, *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi*

Christi fac tibi grande nomen, repara gloriam tuam. For at this time the *Kings Ambassadors* promised themselves great things in the *Court of Rome*, and boasted of the Favour they had, which put *Becket* into such a Consternation, that in the very *Agony* of his *Soul* he poured out these *prayers* to the *Pope*. And we may judge of *Becket's* opinion in this matter, by that of his great Friend *Cardinal Gratianus*, for when the *King* saw himself deluded by the *Pope*, he expressed his resentment in some threatening words, upon which the *Cardinal* said, *Sir do not threaten, we fear no threatnings; for we are of that Court, which hath been wont to command Emperours and Kings.* And because *Becket* suspected the *Cardinal* of *Pavia* a former *Legat*, to be too favourable to the *King*, he begins his Letters to him, with wishing him *Health, and Courage against the insolence of Princes*: and saith, *that the Church gained her strength by opposition to Princes.* We have no reason therefore to question *Becket's* meaning in the former expression, to be according to the sense of *Greg. 7.* it being not only most agreeable to the natural sense of the words, but to the course of his actions, and nature of his quarrel, and his expressions at other times.

In

L. 3. ep. 6.

L. 2. ep. 11,

12, 13, 20.

In another of his *Epistles* to the *King* he L. I. ep. 39.
 complains, *that in his Kingdom, the daughter*
of Sion was held captive, and the Spouse of
the great King was oppressed, and beseeches
him to set her free, and to suffer her to
reign together with her Spouse : otherwise
he saith, the most Mighty would come with L. I. ep. 40.
a strong hand to deliver her : (as one of
his Friends writ to him, that the Church
could not have peace but with a strong hand
and stretched out arm.) Again, he tells L. I. ep. 61.
 the *King*, *that his Royal Power ought not*
to intermeddle with the Churches Liberties,
for Priests ought only to judge Priests, and
that the Secular Power had nothing to do
to punish them, if they did not offend against
faith. It seems then in case of *heresie* only
 the *Secular Arm* is to be called in for help :
 and is not this very agreeable to *Becket's*
 principle *that Kings receive their power*
from the Church ? for their assistance is only
 to be used for their own interests, but by
 no means in case of *Treason*, or *Murder*,
 or any other *Crimes* ; but if *Princes* have
 an inherent *Right* or *Power* in themselves,
 methinks they might be allowed to take
 care of their own and publick *safety* against
 all offenders. *It is the office*, saith he, *of*
a good and Religious Prince, to repair old
and decayed Churches, and to build new
ones, (it seems the *King* was only to be
 Sur-

Surveyor General,) and to honour the Priests and to defend them with all Reverence. But that they had nothing to do with the judgement of them, he endeavours to prove after his fashion ; and he makes use of the very same arguments the Popes had done before in his Grandfathers time ; and almost in the same words ; about the relations of Fathers and Children, Masters and Scholars, and the power of binding and loosing. Nay, he doth not let go, *Qui vos odit me odit ; qui vos tangit, tangit pupillam oculi mei* : which were Gregory 7's beloved places, and served him upon all occasions. And then after his exact method, he thunders out the examples of Saul, Ozias, Abaz and Uzza ; and again saith, that *Secular Powers have nothing to do in the affairs of the Church ; but that if they be faithful, God would have them be subject to the Priests of his Church* : and yet further, *Christian Kings ought to submit their acts to the Governours of the Church, and not set them above them* : for it is written, none but the Church ought to judge of Priests ; and no human Laws ought to pass sentence upon such ; and that *Princes ought to submit to the Bishops and not to sit as Judges over them*. Which he thinks he cannot repeat too often ; And after all uses the very same argument to Henry 2, which

which Gregory 7. had done to William the Conquerour, That Princes ought to be subject to the Priests, because they are to give an account of them to God : and therefore he ought to understand, that Princes are to be governed by them ; and not they brought to the wills of Princes : for, saith he, some of the Popes have excommunicated Kings, and some Emperours. I do not think that ever the Hildebrandine doctrine (as some call it) was delivered in plainer terms, and pleaded for by more arguments (such as they were) than by Becket and his party, as appears by the whole Volume of Epistles relating to his quarrel, out of which I have selected these passages. It would be endless to reckon up all the places, wherein they declare it was the Cause of God and his Church which they defended ; that however ancient the Customs were, they ought not to be observed, because contrary to Gods Law ; that they were not only unlawful but heretical pravities, that those who defended them were Henricians and not Christians ; that they were Balaamites, Egyptians, Samaritans, nay Satanites, and what not : and that themselves were the poor of Christ, and the persecuted ones, and such as waited for the Kingdom of God. And if these things will not satisfy men, that the Con-

troverſie

Cod. Cotton.

l 1. ep. 49,

82, 93, 124,

125, 133,

140, 143,

144, 161.

L. 2. ep. 9,

12, 32, 37,

42, 45, 52,

54, 55, 64,

72, 103,

104.

L. 4. ep. 57.

63.

L. 5 ep. 18.

22, 46, 68,

69, 77.

troverſie between *Henry* the ſecond and *Becket* was not about ancient *Municipal Laws*, but about the *Gregorian principles* of *Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Government*, I know not what can ever do it.

§. 15. But it is ſtill pleaded on his behalf, (or rather on their own who allow him to be a *Saint* and a *Martyr*, and yet deny the *Gregorian principles*) that *thoſe principles were not the immediate motive of his death; but only his refusal of giving abſolution from Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, (but upon a certain condition) to ſome Biſhops after the King was reconciled to him.* It is no doubt a great piece of ſubtilty to find out another cauſe of his death than he thought of himſelf; for he declared, *that he dyed for God, and Juſtice, and the Liberty of the Church; i. e. in proſecution of the ſame cauſe, which he had undertaken from the beginning.* For *Becket* knew well enough there never was a perfect reconciliation between the *King* and him; and that only the neceſſity of his affairs, and the fears of being ſerved as the *Emperour* was by the Pope, i. e. *deprived of his Kingdom by excommunication*, (which *Becket* preſſed with the greateſt vehemency) and the jealouſie he had of the reſt of the

Biſhops,

Bishops, several of whom kept great correspondence now with *Becket*, and the *favour* of the *People* to his cause, forced the King to those shews of reconciliation; for that they were no more on either side, is manifest by this, that the main Controversie was not taken notice of about *the ancient customs*; each party hoping for better circumstances: afterwards all that the *King* consented to, was laying aside any personal displeasure against *Becket*, for what was passed, and allowing him freely to return to his *Church* in expectation of a better behaviour towards him for the future. All which appears from *Becket's* own Letters to *the Pope*, upon and after this reconciliation; for, he saith expressly, *the Customs were not once mentioned between them, and that the apprehensions of the Popes interdict and Fredericks condition was that which moved him to this reconciliation.* The King indeed failed in no point of complement to the *Archbishop*, as he very punctually tells the *Pope*, how he saluted him at first bare-headed and ran into his embraces, how he bare his rebukes patiently, and held his Stirrup at his getting upon his Horse, (if he had but trampled on the Kings Neck too, he had been equal to the *Pope* himself, and it might have raised some jealousy between them).

L.S. Ep 46,
53, 77.

them). But for all this reconciliation, *Becket*, supposing himself the *Conqueror*, resolved not to abate one jot of his rigour against those who had sworn to the *ancient Customs*; and therefore procures power from the *Pope* to *excommunicate* the *Bishops* that had done it, and to return to their *excommunication* those already *absolved*, and to absolve none without taking an *oath*, to stand to the *Popes* command. This the *Kings Officers* upon his return into *England* told him was against the *Customs* of the *Realm*; but they promised, *they should take an oath to obey the Law*, *salvo honore Regni*: *Becket* at first said, *it was not in his Power to rescind the Popes sentence*; which he knew to be false; for the *Pope* had given him power to do it; and he immediately adds, *that he could absolve the Bishops of London and Salisbury if they took the common oath which was in the Cotton M S. se juri parituros*, but it is interlined *se vestro mandato parituros*, as the *Vatican Copy* in *Baronius* hath it. But the *Archbishop of York* told the other *Bishops*, that the taking such an oath, without the *Kings* consent, was against the *Kings Honour*, and the *Customs* of the *Realm*. And it is observeable, that the same time, he was so zealous for the *Bishops* taking this oath

to the *Pope*, he peremptorily refused suffering those of his retinue though required to do it by the *Kings Officers*, to take an oath of *Allegiance* to the *King*, to stand by him against all persons, *nec vos excipientes nec alium*, saith he to the *Pope*, neither excepting you, nor any other ; as the *Cotton M.S.* hath it very plainly, but *Baronius* hath Printed it. *Nos*, whether agreeably to the *Vatican M.S.* I know not, but I am sure not to *Becket's* sense; for he gives this reason of his refusing it, lest by that example the *Clergy* of the *Kingdom* should be drawn to such an oath ; which would be much to the prejudice of the *Apostolical See* ; for by this means the *Popes Authority* would be discarded or very much abated in *England*. Judge now, Reader, whether *Becket* did not remain firm to the *Gregorian* principles to the last ? and whether the immediate motive of his death did not arise from them ? for upon the oath required of the *Bishops*, they with the *Archbishop* of *York* went over to the *King* in *Normandy*, upon the hearing of which complaint the *King* spake those hasty words, from whence those four Persons took the occasion to go over to *Canterbury*, and there after expostulations about this matter, they did most inhumanely Butcher

Baron. A.
1170. n. 41.

him as he was going to *Vespers* in the Church : upon which *Joh. Sarisburiensis*, who was his *Secretary* and present at his murder, saith, that he dyed an *Affertor* of the Churches Liberty, and for defending the Law of God, against the abuses of ancient Tyrants. But what need we mention his judgement, when the Pope in his Bull of Canonization, and the Roman Church in his Office do say that he dyed for the Cause of Christ ? And what can be more plain from hence, than that to this day, all those who acknowledge him to be a *Saint* and a *Martyr*, cannot with any consistency to themselves reject those principles for which he suffered ; any more than they can reasonably be supposed to reject the *Republican principles*, who cry up the *Regicides* for *Saints* and *Martyrs* ? But this is a subject lately undertaken by another hand, and therefore I forbear any farther prosecution of it.

§. 16. After *Becket's* death the Royal Power lost ground considerably ; for to avoid the interdict and excommunication threatened the Kingdom, the King by his Ambassadors, and the Bishops by their messengers, did swear in the Court of Rome, that they would stand to the Popes judgement ;

ment; for among the terms of the Kings reconciliation by the *Popes Legats*, this was one of the chief: *that he should utterly disclaim the wicked Statutes of Clarendon, and all the evil customs, which in his dayes were brought into the Church: and if there were any evil before, they should be moderated according to the Popes command, and by the advice of Religious Persons.* Thus after so many years contest were the *Rights* of the *Crown* and the *Customs* of his predecessors given up by this great Prince; so true was that saying of *Becket*, *that their Church had thriven by opposition to Princes.* And if *Petrus Blesensis* may be believed, this King stooped so low, upon the Rebellion of his Son, as to acknowledge his *Kingdom to be Feudatary to the Pope.* The *Authority* of which *Epistle* is made use of not only by *Baronius*, but by *Bellarmin* and others, to prove, that *the King of England is Feudatary to the Pope*, or that he holds his *Crown* of him upon paying certain acknowledgments; which it is hardly possible to conceive a Prince that understood and valued his own *Rights* so well as *Henry* the second did, should ever be brought so low to confess, without the least ground for it. For when it was challenged by *Gregory* the seventh, it was utterly denied by *William*

Ep. 94.

Petr. Bles.
ep. 138.Baron. A.
1173. n. 8.
Bellarm.
Apolog. 8.
Torto c. 3.
Becan. contr.
Anglic. q. 9.

the *Conquerour*, and never that we find so much as challenged afterwards of any *lawful Prince*, by way of *Fee* before his time, but only in regard of the Popes temporal Power over all Princes. Although a late *French Monk* who published *Lanfranc's Epistles*, wonders it should be denied because of the *Tribute* anciently paid to Rome, viz. of the *Peter-pence*, which were not so called because paid to *S. Peters* pretended 'Successors, but because payable on *S. Peters* day, as appears by the *Law* of *Canutus* to that Purpose; and were only *Eleemosynary* for the sustenance of poor *Scholars* at Rome, as the late publisher of *Petrus Blesensis* confesses: who withal adds that *Henry* the second denied their payment, but was persuaded to it again by *Petrus Blesensis*; and him he acknowledges to have been the *Writer* of the foregoing *Epistle*. And we must consider that he was alwayes a secret Friend of *Becket* and his *Cause* in the whole quarrel, and being imployed by the King in his straits to write to the Pope to excommunicate his Son, he knowing very well the prevalent arguments in the *Court* of Rome might strain a *complement* in the behalf of his Master to the Pope, for which he had little cause to thank him; although it may be, *Petrus Blesensis* expressed his

OWN

D'Acher.
not. in E-
pistol. Lan-
franc. 7.
p. 347.

Vit. Petr.
Bles.

own mind, whether it were the Kings or no.

And we have no ground that I can find, to imagin this to have been the Kings mind in the least ; for upon his submission a Clause was inserted, *that he was no longer to own the Pope, than the Pope treated him as a Christian and Catholick King ; and as the Popes predecessours had done his.* And after the writing of that Letter and the reconciliation with his Son, *Radulphus de Diceto*, Dean of *S. Pauls* about that time, hath an *Authentick Epistle* of *Henry the second* to the Pope, wherein he acknowledges no more than the common observance which was usual with all Princes in that Age, whereas *Fendatary Princes* write after another Form. So that I cannot but think it to be a meer complement of *Petrus Blessensis* without the Kings knowledge, or else a *Clause* inserted since his time, by those who knew where to put in convenient passages for the advantage of the Roman See.

It is said by some, that *Henry the second* A. D. 1176. did revive the Statutes of *Clarendon* which the Pope and *Becket* opposed so much, in the Parliament called at *Northampton*. It is true that *Gervase of Canterbury* doth say, that the King did re-

L. 5. ep. 95.
Hoveden.
p. 303.

Radulph. de
Diceto
Imag. hi-
stor. p. 591.

Gervas.
Dorobern.
1433.

new the Assise of Clarendon, for whose execrable Statutes Becket suffered ; but he doth not say, that he renewed those Statutes ; but others which are particularly enumerated by Hoveden, upon the distributing t^e Kingdom into six Circuits, and appointing the itinerant Judges, who were made to swear that they would keep themselves, and make others to observe the following Assises, (as the Statutes were then called :) but they all concerned matters of Law and Civil Justice, without any mention of the other famous Statutes about Ecclesiastical matters. Whereas at the same time it is said that King Henry the second granted to the Popes Legat, though against the advice of his great and Wise men, that Clergy-men should not be summoned before Secular Tribunals, but only in case of the Kings Forest, and of Lay-fees ; which is directly contrary to the Statute of Clarendon : but some men love to heap things together, without well considering how they agree with each other ; and so make the King in the same page to null and establish the same Statutes.

But it is observable, that after all this contest about the exemption of Clergy-men, and the Kings readiness to yield it, they were made weary of it at last themselves ;

Hoveden.
p. 314.

Mat. Paris
p. 133.
Radulph.
de Diceto.
p. 591.

selves; for as *Richard* (*Becket's* Successour in the *See of Canterbury*) saith, in his Letter to the three *Bishops*, that were then three of the *Kings Justices*, the killing of a *Clergy-man* was more remissly punished, Pet Bks.
ep. 73. than the stealing of a *Sheep*: and therefore the *Archbishop* perswades them, to call in the *Secular Arm* against *Ecclesiastical Malefactors*. And now in his opinion the *Canons and Councils* are all for it, and *Becket's* arguments are slighted; and no regard had to the *Cause* he suffered for, when he found what mischief this impunity brought upon themselves. But for this giving up their *Liberties*, the *Monks* revenge themselves on the memory of this *Archbishop*; as one that yielded up those blessed priviledges which *Becket* had purchased with his blood.

Notwithstanding the sufferings the King had undergone by his opposing the Ecclesiastical encroachments, we may see what apprehension after all he had of the declension of his own power, and the miserable condition the Church was in by those priviledges they had obtained, by that notable discourse which *Gervase of Canterbury* relates the King had with the *Bishops* in the time of *Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury*; wherein with tears he tells them, that

*Gervas. Do-
robern.
p. 1595.*

he was a miserable man, and no King ; or if a King, he had only the name and not the power of a King : that the Kingdom of England was once a rich and glorious Kingdom, but now a very small share of it was left to his Government. And then gives a sad account of the strange degeneracy both of the Monks and Clergy ; and what, saith he, in the day of judgement shall we say to these things ? Besides, Those of Rome see our weakness and domineer over us, they sell their Letters to us, they do not seek justice but contentions, they multiply appeals, and draw suits to Rome, and when they look only after Money, they confound Truth and overthrow peace. what shall we say to these things ? how shall we answer them at Gods dreadful Judgement ? Go and advise together about some effectual course to prevent these enormities. Was this spoken like a Feudatary of the Popes ? and not rather like a wise and pious Prince, who not only saw the miseries that came upon the Kingdom and Church by these encroachments of Ecclesiastical Power, but was yet willing to do his best to redress them, if the great Clergy would have concurred with him in it : who were a little moved for the present with the Kings Tears and patheticall speech, but the impression did

soon

soon wear off from their minds ; and things grew worse and worse, by the daily increase of the Papal Tyranny. And when this great Prince was very near his end, some of the *Monks of Canterbury* were sent over to him, who had been extremely troublesome to himself and the Kingdom, as well as to the *Archbishop* by their continual *Appeals* to the *Court of Rome* ; and they told the King, *the Convent of Canterbury saluted him as their Lord ; I have been,* said the King, *and am and will be Your* *Gervas.*
p. 1545. *Lord, Ye wicked Traytors ;* Upon which one of the *Monks* very loyally cursed him, and he dyed, saith *Gervase*, within seven days.

§. 17. Having thus far shewed that the Controversie between the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Power*, was accounted a *Cause of Religion* by the managers of the *Ecclesiastical Power*, and that so far, that the great Defender of it is to this day accounted a *Saint* and a *Martyr*, for suffering in it, I now come to shew that the ancient *pænal Laws* were made against that very *Cause* which *Becket* suffered for. After the death of *Henry the second*, *Becket's Cause* triumphed much more than it had done before ; for in the time of Richard the first, the great
affairs

affairs of the Nation were managed by the *Popes Legats* during the *Kings* absence, and after his return scarce any opposition was made to the *Popes Bulls*, which came over very frequently; (unless it were against one about the *Canons of Lambeth*, wherein the *King* and *Archbishop* were forced to submit) no hindrance made to *Appeals*; and even in *Normandy* the *Ecclesiastical Power* got the better after long contests. In the latter end of *Richard* the first, the *Pope* began to take upon him the disposal of the best *Ecclesiastical preferments* in *England*, either by *translation*, or *Provision*, or *Collation*; which, *Fitz. Stephen* saith that *Henry 2.* told those about him, (after the four *Courtiers* were gone for *England* to murder *Becket*) was the design *Becket* intended to carry on, viz. to take away all *Right of Patronage* from the *King* and all *Lay-Persons*, and so bring the gift of all *Church-preferments* to the *Pope*, or others under him. Upon the agreement of *King John* with the *Popes Legat* he renounced all *right of Patronage*, and gave it to the *Pope*; but it is no wonder in him, who so meekly resigned his *Crown* to the *Popes Legat*, and did swear homage to the *Pope*, declaring that he held the *Kingdom* in *Fee* from him upon the annual payment of a thousand Marks. And I desire it may be observed

*Radul.
de Diceto.
Imag. hist.
p. 657.*

*Fitz. Steph.
vit. S. Thom.*

observed that the *Oath of Fealty* extant in *Matthew Paris*, and the *Records* of the *Tower*, and the *Vatican Register*, which *King John* made to the *Pope*, hath no other expressions in it, than are contained in the *Oath* which all the *Popish Bishops* now take at their consecration, only with the variation of necessary circumstances. And although *Sr. Tho. Moor* once denyed any such thing as *King Johns Resignation* of his *Crown*, yet the matter is now past all dispute by the concurrence of the *Records* of the *Tower*, and the *Vatican Register*, and the *Authentick Bull* of the *Pope*, and the *Epistles* of *Innocent* the third, published out of *M.S.* by *Bosquet* now a *Bishop* in *France*; wherein, the devout *Pope* attributes this resignation of his *Crown* to no less than the inspiration of the *Holy Ghost*: and saith, the *Kingdom* of *England* was then become a *Royal Priesthood*: and in another *Bull* he accepts of the *Resignation*, and declares that whereas before these *Provinces* were subject to the *Roman Church* in *Spirituals*, they were now become subject in *Temporals* too: and from hence he requires an *Oath of Fealty* from himself, and all his *Successors*, and charges all persons under severe penalties not to dare to infringe this *Charter*. And although the *Parliament*,

Mat. Paris.
p. 235, 236,
237.

Odor. Ray-
nald A.

1213. 7.
75, 81.

Mat. West-
minster. ad

A.D. 1213.
Sr. Tho.

Moor's
Supplica-
tion of
Soule.

p. 296.

B. II. Inno-
cent. 3. in
Biblioth.

Cotton.

Innocent. 3.
Regst. 16.
n. 79.

Odor. Ray-
nald. A.

1213. n. 88.

Regest. In-
nocent. 3.
l. 16. ep. 131.

ment, 40 Edw. 3. did deny the payment of the Popes Tribute upon the invalidity of King John's Charter, not being done by the consent of the Barons (as the Pope said it was) yet we are to consider what Gregory the seventh said to the Princes of Spain; that a Kingdom once belonging to the See of Rome can never be alienated from it, but although the Use be discontinued, yet the Right still continues : so that although the thing be never so much null and vain in it self, yet it still serves for pretence to usurp the same temporal Power over our Princes, when opportunity serves them.

Greg. l. I.
c. 7.

Mat. Paris
A. 1216.
p. 289.

And it is certain that Henry the third did swear homage and Fealty to the Pope at his Coronation, and promised to pay the tribute ; which was performed several times in his Reign, till the King and People protested against it in the Council of Lyons, as a grievance of the Kingdom, which was extorted by the Roman Court unjustly in a time of war, and to which the Nobles had never consented, and never would. But whatever opinion the Nobles were of, the Pope had the Bishops sure to him, for upon his Message to them they all set their hands to King John's Charter of Resignation ; which highly provoked the King, and made him swear that he would stand for the Liberty of

Mat. Paris
A. 1245.
p. 666.

ib. p. 681.

of the Kingdom, and never pay the Tribute more while he breathed. In the same Council the English complained, that infinite numbers of Italians were beneficed among them, that more money went out of England every year into Italy than the Kings Revenues came to, that the Popes Legats grew more intolerable, and by reservations, and Provisions, and one trick or other, the Patrons were defrauded of their Right, and the Clergy impoverished by unreasonable pensions; and whoever would not presently submit, his Soul was immediately put into the Devils Custody by Excommunication. Notwithstanding all these complaints, the Pope goes on in the same way with them, and resolved to try how much the Asses back would bear without kicking: the English Ambassadors go away highly incensed from the Council, and resolved to defend their own rights: but they yet wanted a Prince of Spirit enough to head them. Before this time the insolence of the Roman Clergy was grown so intolerable to the Nation, that the Nobility and Commonalty joyned together in a resolution to free themselves from this Yoke, and threatened the Bishops to burn their goods if they went about to defend them; they sent abroad their Letters to several places, with

Mat. Paris
A. 1231.
p. 371.

with a Seal with two swords, between which were written *Ecce duo gladii hic*, in abuse of the *Roman Court*; and it seems they destroyed the goods of several *Roman Clergy-men*; but *Matt. Paris* saith, they were all excommunicated by the Bishop of London and ten Bishops more: although *Matt. Mestminster* saith, the Bishop of London was cited to Rome, for favouring them, and having his Purse well emptied was sent home again. It seems the Pope was so nettled at the Remonstrance of the *English Nobility* at the Council of Lyons, that he entred into a secret consultation with the King of France either to depose the King of England, or to bring him wholly to his will, so that neither he nor his people should so much as dare to mutter against the oppressions of the *Roman Court*: and the Pope offered the utmost assistance of his Power for it, but the King of France declined the employment. However the Pope goes on with his work and grants a Bull for raising ten thousand Marks out of vacant Benefices in the Province of Canterbury, which so incensed the King, that he made a Proclamation, that whosoever brought Bulls of Provision from Rome should be taken and imprisoned; but this did little good, saith *Matth. Paris*, because

of

Mat. West-
minster 1232.
p. 292.

Mat. Paris
A. 1246.
p. 691.

Id. p. 693.

of the uncertain humour of the King. The same year a *Parliament* was called about the *intolerable grievances* of the *Roman Court*, in which many of the *Bishops* favoured the Popes party: but at the *Parliaments* meeting at *Winchester*, the *Ambassadors* were returned from the *Pope*, who gave a lamentable account of their *Ambassy*, viz. *that instead of any redress, the Pope told them the King of England kicks and plays the Frederick (whom he had deposed from the Empire in the Council of Lyons) he hath his Council, and I have mine, which I will follow; and withal they say, they were scorned and despised as a company of Schismatics for daring to complain.* Upon this the King issues out another *Proclamation*, that no money should be sent out of *England* to the *Pope*. At which the *Pope* was so enraged, that he sent a severe Message to the *Bishops* of *England* under pain of *excommunication* and *suspension*, to see his *Money* punctually paid to his *Nuncio* by such a day in *London*; and the King by the perswasion of the *Bishop* of *Worcester* and some others, fairly yields, and gives up the *Cause* to the *Pope*. After this the *Pope* sends for a *third part* of the profits of all *Benefices* from *Residents*, and *half* from *Non-residents*, with an *Italian Gentleman*

Id. p. 696.

Id. p. 709.

Id. p. 716.

1d. p. 719.

man called *Non obstante*, that had almost undone the Nation : the *Clergie* meet at *London* about it, and make a grievous *Remonstrance* of their sad condition ; declaring, *that the whole Kingdom could not satisfie the Popes demands* ; but it seems, the Bishops brought the inferiour *Clergie* to it against the consent of the *King and Parliament*. The next year the *Parliament* made

1d. p. 721.

another *Remonstrance* of the grievances of the *Clergie* and *People of England*, which they sent to the *Pope* and *Cardinals* ; wherein they declare, *that it was impossible for them to bear the burdens laid upon them ; that the Kings necessities could not be supplied, nor the Kingdom preserved if such payments were made ; that the goods of all the Clergie of England would not make up the summe demanded* : but all the effect of this was only a promise, *that for the future the Kings leave should be desired* ; which, saith *Matthew Paris*, came to as much as nothing. By which we may judge of the miserable condition of this Nation under the intolerable *Usurpations* of the *Court of Rome*.

§. 18. After so long tryal of the *Court of Rome*, by *Embassies*, *Remonstrances*, and all fair wayes, and no success at all by them,

at last they resolved upon making *severe Laws* (the *last Reason* of *Parliaments*) and to see what effect this would have upon the *Clergie* for the recovering the antient *Rights* of the *Crown*. For, we are to consider, that the *Controversie* still was carryed on under the same pretence of the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil Power*; and it is a foolish thing to judge of the sense of the *Ruling Clergie* at that time by the *Acts* of *Parliament* and *Statutes* of *Provisors* and *Premunire*. For by this time, the *Pope* had them in such firm dependence upon him, and they were fed by such continual hopes from the *Court* of *Rome*, that they were very hardly brought to consent to any restraints of the *Papal Power*; and in the *Parliament* 13 Rich. 2. *The Archbishops* of *Canterbury* and *York* for them and the whole *Clergie* of their *Provinces* made their solemn *Protestation* in open *Parliament* that they in no wise meant, or would assent to any *Statute* or *Law* made in restraint of the *Popes Authority*, but utterly withstood the same; the which their *Protestations* at their requests were enrolled; as that Learned *Antiquary* *Sr. Robert Cotton* hath shewed out of the *Records* of the *Tower*. By which we see the whole *Body* of the *Clergie*, were for the most *exorbitant Power* of the *Pope*, and would not consent to

Abridg-
ment of
the *Records*
of the
Tower,
13 R. 2.
p. 332.

any *Statutes* made against it : So that what *Reformation* was made in these matters was *Parliamentary* even in that time, and I do not question, but the Friends to the *Papal* interest made the very same objections then against those *Pœnal Statutes* of *Provisors* and *Premunire*, that others since have done against the *Laws* made since the *Reformation*. And all that were sincere for the *Court* of *Rome* did as much believe it to be ineer *Usurpation* in the *Parliament*, to make any *Laws* in these matters ; “ For was the “ *King Head* of the *Church* ? might he not “ as well administer *Sacraments*, as make “ *Laws* in derogation of the *Popes Authority* and *Jurisdiction* ? What was this, but “ to make a *Parliamentary Religion*, to “ own the *Popes Sovereign Power* no farther than they thought fit ? If any thing “ were amiss, they ought humbly to represent it to his *Holiness*, and to wait his “ time for the *Reforming* abuses ; and not “ upon their own *Heads*, and without so “ much as the *consent* of their *Clergie* to “ make *Laws* about the restraint of that “ *Power* which *Christ* hath set up in his “ *Church*. How can this be done without “ judging what the *Pope* hath done to be “ amiss ? and who dares say, that his *Holiness* can so much err, as to aim at nothing

“ but

“ *but his own profits, without any regard*
 “ *to the good of the Church? What! are*
 “ *they not all members, and will they*
 “ *dare take upon them to judge their Head?*
 “ *What! Sons rise up against their Father,*
 “ *and Secular men take upon them to con-*
 “ *demn the things which Christ's Vicar upon*
 “ *earth allows? What! and after all the*
 “ *Sufferings and Martyrdom of S. Thomas*
 “ *of Canterbury, that ever we should live*
 “ *to see a Parliament of England make*
 “ *Laws against that good Old Cause, for*
 “ *which he dyed? This is but to increase*
 “ *the number of Confessors and Martyrs, as*
 “ *all those will be, who suffer by these*
 “ *Laws. For do they not plainly suffer for*
 “ *Conscience and Religion, although the*
 “ *Parliament may call it Treason? What*
 “ *an honour it is rather to suffer than to*
 “ *betray the Churches Liberty for which*
 “ *Christ dyed? or to disobey the Head of*
 “ *the Church who commands those things*
 “ *which the Parliament forbids? And must*
 “ *we not obey God rather than men?*

After this manner we may reasonably
 suppose the *Roman Clergie* and their adhe-
 rents at that time to have argued: but it is
 well Mr. *Cressy* at least allows these *Sta-*
utes of Provisors and Premunire, and
 boasts of the *Loyalty* of those *Ancestors*

that made them : but I fear he hath not well considered the occasions and circumstances of them, and what opposition the *Papal Clergie* made against them, or else I should think he could not afterwards have declaimed so much against the injustice and cruelty of our *Pœnal Laws*. But even those antient *Statutes* were passed with so much difficulty, and executed with so little care, that they by no means proved a sufficient salve for the sore they were intended for, as will appear by this true account of them.

§. 19. In the time of *Edward* the first, who was a *Prince* both *wise* and *resolute*; the *grievances* of the *Kingdom*, (by his connivance at the *Papal* encroachments for a long time,) grew to that height, that some effectual course was necessary to recover the antient *Rights* of the *Crown*, which had now been so long buried, that they were almost forgotten; but an occasion happened which for the time thoroughly awaked him to a consideration of them. *Bonif. 8.* out of a desire still to advance *Ecclesiastical Liberty*, had made a Constitution, strictly forbidding any *Clergie-man* paying any *Taxes whatsoever* to *Princes*, without the *Popes* consent; and both the payers and receivers were

were to fall under excommunication ipso facto not to be taken off without immediate Authority from the Court of Rome, unless it were at the point of death. Not long after this, the King demands a supply in Parliament, the Clergie unanimously refuse on account of the Popes Bull, the King bids them advise better, and return a satisfactory Answer; at the time appointed *Winchelsea* then Archbishop of Canterbury, in the name of the whole Clergie declares, That they owed more obedience to the Pope than to the King, he being their Spiritual, and the King only a Temporal Sovereign; but to give satisfaction to both, they desire leave to send to the Pope. At which saucy answer the King was so much provoked, that he put the whole Clergie out of his Protection, and seized upon their Lands; for which an Act of Parliament was made to that purpose saith *Thorn*. And although many of the Clergie submitted and bought their peace at dear rates, yet *Winchelsea* stood it out, ready, saith *Knighton*, to dye for the Church of Christ: which if he had done, there might have been a *S. Robert* as good a Martyr, as *S. Thomas* of Canterbury: For our Historians say, this Constitution of the Pope was procured by *Winchelsea's* means; and he caused it to be publish-

Knighton
de event.
Angl. l. 3.
c. 5.

Chronic.
W. Thorn.
A. 1296.
p. 1935.

Walsingh.
A. 1298.
p. 69.

ed in all Cathedral Churches. After this, the King sends a prohibition to the Bishops, against doing any thing to the prejudice of himself or his Ministers : and another, against all excommunications of those who should execute this Law ; and herein he declares, that the doing such a thing would be a notorious injury, to his Crown and Dignity a great scandal to the people, the destruction of the Church, and it may be the subversion of the whole Kingdom ; and therefore he charges them by vertue of their Allegiance, that they should forbear doing it. At the same time he issued out writs for apprehending and imprisoning all such persons as should presume to excommunicate any of his Subjects on the account of this Bull of Pope Boniface : and our Learned Lawyers mention out of their Books, a Person condemned for Treason in this Kings time for bringing a Bull of excommunication against one of the Kings subjects ; but although they do not mention the time, it seems most probable to have been upon this occasion. Parsons laughs at Sr. Edw. Cook for saying, this was Treason by the antient Common Law, before any Statutes were made ; but it doth sufficiently appear by the foregoing Discourse, that this was looked on as one of the antient Rights of the Crown,

Matt. W. fl.
A 1296,
1297.

Spelman.
Con. il. Tom.
2. p. 427.

Clav.
25 E. 1.
M. 8.

Pat. 25 E. 1.
M. 12.

Davis Case
of Prem.
Cook's Re-
port. l. 5.

Ans. to
Cook's Rep.
5. par. 267

Crown; that no forreign Authority should exercise any jurisdiction here without the Kings consent. Besides, this King revived another of the antient Customs, forbidding all Persons of the Clergie or Laity to go out of the Kingdom without his leave, and so stopt the freedom of Appeals to the Pope; and by the Statute of Carlisle, 35 Edw. 1. All Religious Houses were forbidden sending any Moneyes over to those of their Order beyond Sea, although required to do it by those Superiours whom they thought themselves bound in conscience to obey: And it appears by the Statute of Provisors 25 Edw. 3. that the first Statute of this kind was made in this Kings time, at the Parliament at Carlisle; notwithstanding that the Pope challenged the liberty of Provisions as a part of the plenitude of his Power. But although this Statute were then made, yet it had the fortune of many good Laws, not to be executed: and therefore in Edward the thirds time the Commons earnestly pressed for the revival of it 17 Edw. 3. upon which they sent for the Statute of Carlisle; and then, sayes the Record, the Act of Provision was made by the common consent, forbidding the bringing of Bulls or such trinkets from the Court of Rome; and in the next Parliament it was

Ff A

enacted,

Claw

25 Ed. 1.

M. 25.

Clement. l. 2.
c. 1. ut ille
pend.

Abridge-
ment of
Records.
p. 41.

Abbrage-
ment of
Records,
p. 64.

enacted, that whosoever should by process in the Court of Rome seek to reverse judgement given in the Kings Courts, that he should be taken and brought to answer, and upon conviction to be banished the Realm, or be under perpetual imprisonment, or if not found, to be out-lawed. But notwithstanding these Laws, the Commons 21 Edw. 3. complain still, that Provisions went on in despite of the King: and judgements were reversed by Process in the Court of Rome; and therefore they pray that judgement may be executed upon delinquents; and this matter brought into a perpetual Statute, as had been often desired: the King grants their desire, and the Commons bring in a Bill to that purpose, extant in the Records: but the Statute of Provisors did not pass till 25 Edw. 3. which is the common Statute in the printed Books: yet soon after, we find that the Commons pray for the execution of it; and the Kings answer was, that he would have it new read and amended: then 27 Edw. 3. passed that other Statute of Præmunire, against Appeals in Civil Causes to the Court of Rome; which we have seen Becket made a considerable part of the Churches Liberty which Christ had purchased, and practised it himself at Northampton, appealing from the

P. 80.

King and his Parliament to the Pope in a meer Civil Cause of Accompts between the King and him. Yet after all these Statutes 38 Edw. 3. a Re-enforcement of them was thought necessary in another Statute made that year against Citations to Rome, and P. 100. Provisions; wherein are grievous complaints, that the good antient Laws were still impeached, blemished and confounded, the Crown of our Lord the King abated, and his person very hardly and falsly defamed, the treasure and riches of the Kingdom carryed away, the inhabitants and subjects of the Realm impoverished and troubled, the Benefices of the Church wasted and destroyed, Divine Services, Hospitalities, Alms-deeds, and other works of Charity withdrawn and set apart; the Great men, Commons and Subjects of the Realm in body and goods damnified: And yet Sr.R.C. saith, that in the Record are more biting words; a Myserie, he saith, not to be known of all men. In 40 Edw. 3. It was declared in Parliament by common consent, that if the Pope should attempt any thing, against the King by process, or other matters in deed, P. 102. that the King with all his Subjects should with all their force and power resist the same. Yet still so deep rooting had the Popes power gotten in this Nation, that

P. 119.

47 Edw. 3. The Commons beg remedy still against the Popes provisions, and complain that the Treasure of the Realm was carryed away, which they cannot bear; and

P. 128.

50 Edw. 3. A long Bill was brought in against the Popes Usurpations, as being the Cause of all the Plagues, injuries, famine and poverty of the Realm; and there they complain, notwithstanding all former Laws, that the Popes Collector kept his Court in

P. 129.

London as it were one of the Kings Courts, transporting yearly to the Pope twenty thousand Marks, and commonly more: and that Cardinals and other Aliens by reason of their preferments here have sent over yearly twenty thousand Marks; and that the Pope to ransom the Kings enemies did at his pleasure levy a Subsidy of the Clergie of England; and that to advance his gain he did commonly make translations of Bishopricks and other Dignities within the Realm; and therefore again the Commons pray the Statutes against Provisors may be renewed: which they repeated 51 Edw. 3. but all the answer they cou'd get was, that the Pope had promised redress, the which if he do not, the Laws therein shall stand: but upon another Petition, promise was made, that the Statutes should be observed. In

P. 147.

P. 151.

P. 161.

1 R. 2. the Commons are at it again upon the

the same complaints: and it is declared to be one Cause of calling the *Parliament* 3 R. 2. and an Act then passed, wherein as Sr. R. C. observes, *the Print makes no mention of the Popes abuses, which the Record expressly sets down, and that the Pope had broken promise with Edward the third, and granted preferments in England to the Kings enemies.* 7 R. 2. another Statute was made against *Provisions*, wherein the *Print* differs from the *Record*, as the same Person desires it may be noted. 11 R. 2. the *Commons* pray that those that bring in the *Popes Bulls* of *Volumus* and *Imponimus* may be reputed for *Traytors*. 13 R. 2. the Statute of *Provisors* was again confirmed, notwithstanding the *Protestations* of the *Bishops* in *Parliament* against any Statute made in restraint of the *Popes Authority*; and a *Præmunire* added against those that bring any sentence of *excommunication* against those that execute it. 15 R. 2. the *Archbishop* of *York* being *Chancellor* told the *Parliament* one of the *Causes* of calling them, was the restoring to the *Pope* what belonged to him about *Provisions*; but in the same *Parliament* Sr. *William Brian* was sent to the *Tower*, for bringing a *Bull* from *Rome* against some that had robbed him, which *Bull* being read, was judged prejudicial to the

P. 182.

P. 186.

P. 295.

P. 324.

P. 333.

P. 341.

P. 343.

P. 347.

the King, his Council, and in derogation to his Laws. 16 R. 2. the Commons grant to the King, that by the advice of his Lords and Commons, he should have power to moderate the Statute of Provisions to the honour of God, saving the Rights of the Crown : so as the same be declared the next Parliament, to the end the Commons may then agree or no. In this Parliament hap-

P. 348.

*pened an extraordinary thing, For William Courtny Archbishop of Canterbury made his Protestation in open Parliament, saying, That the Pope ought not to Excommunicate any Bishop, or intermeddle for, or touching any presentation to any Ecclesiastical dignity recovered in any of the Kings Courts ; He further protested, that the Pope ought to make no translations to any Bishoprick within the Realm against the Kings will : for that the same was the destruction of the Realm and Crown of England which hath alwayes been so free, as the same hath had none earthly Sovereign, but only subject to God in all things touching Regalities, and to none other ; the which his protestation he prayed might be entred. Then passed the famous Statute of Premunire upon occasion of the Popes Bulls of excommunication coming into England against certain Bishops, who it seems at last, were brought to obey the
Laws ;*

Laws ; and that which the Archbishop of Canterbury protested was a part of the Statute, wherein the Commons not only declared their resolution to live and dye with the King in defence of the Liberties of the Crown against the Papal Usurpations ; but moreover they pray and in justice require that he would examin all the Lords as well Spiritual as Temporal severally, and all the States of the Parliament, how they think of the cases aforesaid, which be so openly against the Kings Crown, and in derogation of his Regality, and how they will stand in the same cases with our Lord the King in upholding the Rights of the said Crown and Regality. By which it appears that the Commons had a great suspicion of the Spiritual Lords ; And it seems they had reason, for the Temporal Lords declared frankly their concurrence with the Commons, and that the Cases mentioned were clearly in derogation of the Crown, as it is well known and hath been a long time known. Mr. Cressy would make us believe that all the Bishops present, and the Procurators of the absent unanimously assented ; but the very words of the Statute say the contrary ; for there it is added, that the Lords Spiritual did make their Protestation first, that it is not their mind to deny or affirm that

Epist. Apol. P. 113.
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the Bishop of Rome may not excommunicate Bishops, nor that he may make translation of Prelates after the Law of Holy Church: (but it seems by the Records the Archbishop of Canterbury alone spoke plain to the sense of the Parliament, and entred his Protestation different from the rest.) Neither do they declare their assent to the freedom of the Crown of England from all earthly subjection; and that it is immediately subject to God in all things touching the Regalities of the same, and not subject to the Pope; (which they touch not upon) but only with several clauses of Reservation about processes, excommunications and translations, they declare in such and such cases, they are against the King and his Crown: and in these cases they would be with the King in maintaining of his Crown, and in all other cases touching his Crown and Regality, as they be bound by their liegeance; which are words very ambiguous, and imply a secret reservation of *salvo Ordine suo, & jure Ecclesie*, or with a *salvo* to the Oath they had taken to the Pope. But however the Act passed, and a *premunire* by it lyes against all that procure or bring Bulls, or any other things whatsoever which touch the King against him his Crown and Regality or his Realm. By this Statute,

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the *Parliament* 1 H. 4. declared, that the *Crown* of England was freed from the *Pope* and all other foreign Power; and it was one of the articles against *Rich. 2.* at his deposition, that notwithstanding the Statutes, he procured the *Popes* excommunication on such as brake the last *Parliament* in derogation of the *Crown*, Statutes, and Laws of the *Realm*. And yet we find new Statutes of *Provisors* made 2 H. 4. c. 3, 4. 6 H. 4. c. 57. 7 H. 4. c. 6, 8. 9 H. 4. c. 8. In the 1 H. 5. it was again enacted that all Statutes made against *Provisors* from *Rome* should be observed.

Abbridge-
ment of
Records.
p. 387.

§. 20. By which we see that although the *Parliament* shewed a very good will towards the restraint of the *Popes* *Usurpations*, yet it all signified very little, as long as his *Authority* and *Supremacy* were acknowledged here; for what did *Laws* signify, when the *Pope* could null them by a *Bull* from *Rome*? And it was in those days verily believed by those who did acknowledge the *Popes* *Supremacy*, and followed the *Church-men* in their opinions, that an *Act* of *Parliament* had no power at all upon *conscience*, if it were repugnant to the *Laws* of the *Church*, i. e. as they then thought, to the *Popes* *decretals*. And we need

need not wonder at that, after the *Popes Decretals* were digested into a *Body of Canon Law*, and that looked upon by all the hearty Friends to the *Church of Rome*, as the *Rule of Conscience* in what it determined. Which we need not at all to wonder at, since *Petrus de Marca* himself declares, *That the Constitutions of Princes are in themselves null when they are repugnant to the Canons and received Decrees of Popes; and that Bishops have always abstained from the execution of them as much as they durst; by which we see that Acts of Parliament were no certain indications of the judgement of the Church or the generality of the People in that time; but notwithstanding all the Statutes, the good trade of Provisors went on still, and the Court of Rome never wanted Chapmen for their forbidden wares. For many of our Bishops dying in the time of the Council of Constance, Martin 5. as soon as he was well settled in his place, put in several Bishops by way of Provision at his own pleasure; and nulled elections made by Chapters; so that in two years time he put in thirteen Bishops in the Province of Canterbury in spite of all the Statutes of Provisors; and made his Nephew Prosper Colonna Arch-Deacon of Canterbury at fourteen years of*
 Age;

*Petr. de
Marca Pro-
leg. p. 51.
l. 2. c. 11.
B. S.*

*Vita H.
Chichele
p. 54, 55,
56, &c. ab
A Duck.*

Age ; who afterwards had as many Benefices granted him in *England* as came to five hundred *Marks*. Besides, he granted *Appropriations, Dispensations, &c.* as he pleased, without regard to the *English Nation*. These things the *English Ambassadors* complained of in the *Council of Constance*, and at last the *Pope* came to an Agreement with them, which were called the *Concordates* between *Martin 5.* and the *Church of England* ; in which no manner of regard was had to the *Statutes of Provisors* although so often repeated, only some agreements were made between the *Pope* and the *English Bishops*, about *Unions of Churches*, the *capacity of English Bishops for any Offices of the Roman Court*, and such like. But other *Ambassadors* who came a little after these, pressed the matter somewhat harder upon the *Pope*, against *Provisions* and *Aliens* and the *Kings Supplies* out of the *moneys* raised for the *Court of Rome* ; the *Pope* giving them no favourable answer, they replied, *unless he did presently satisfy their demands, the King would make use of his own Right, because it was not necessity but respect that made them seek to him, and pray that they might enter this Protestation before the Cardinals by the Kings Command.* At this same time the

States of France renewed their Statutes against the Popes Usurpations; and added, that they would not acknowledge him Pope till he consented to them; and the Rector of the University of Paris was proceeded against as a Traytor for appealing from the Kings Edicts to the Pope. Notwithstanding all this, the same Pope sends his Nuncio into England to raise moneys; who was called Joh. Opizanus, but he was cast into Prison for his pains, for which the Pope expostulated very sharply with the Duke of Bedford about it, H. 5. being then dead. Archbishop Chichele was in that time no friend to the Popes continual encroachments, upon which as appears by the Records, he was cited to Rome, and the Commons make it their request to the King, that he would write to the Pope on his behalf: but we are told by a considerable Lawyer, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the Bishops offered the King a large supply, if he would consent that all the Laws against Provisors might be repealed: but it was rejected by Humphry Duke of Gloucester, who had lately cast the Popes Bull into the fire. This is certain that Card. Beaufort, then Bishop of Winchester, incurred the penalties of the Statutes of Provisors 10 H. 6. for which
he

Abridge-
ment of
Records.
6 H 6. n. 16.

Sr. J. Davis
Case of
Præmunire.

he was questioned in *Parliament* ; but at last, *had his Pardon granted by the King, with the consent of all the Estates* : By which we see, that not one of all the *Papal encroachments* was ever cut off by the severity of the *Pœnal Laws*, as long as the *Popes Supremacy* was allowed ; for never any thing was more vigorously attempted, more frequently enacted, more severely threatned than this business of *Provisors*, yet in despite of all the *Laws* it continued still, as long as the *Pope* was allowed to have a *Power* above *Laws*, and that he could *null, abrogate, or dispense* with them as he pleased. And thus far I have given an impartial account of the ancient *pœnal Laws* of *England* : The like to which have been made in *France, Spain, Italy, Flanders* and other parts of *Europe*, as might be easily proved if it were necessary ; but I forbear that,

§. 21. And come to compare the ancient *pœnal Laws* of our own Nation with the *modern*, as to the *Reasons* and *Occasions* of them, that by them we may judge whether those who allow the ancient *Laws* to be *just*, can have any ground to charge the present with *injustice* and *Cruelty*, which can be only on one of these two

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grounds.

grounds. 1. Either that the *Occasions* of the present Laws were not so great. Or, 2. That the old Laws did not relate to the *exercise* of their *Religion*, as the latter do. I shall consider both of them.

1. For the *occasions* of the present *pænal Laws*, Mr. *Cressy* confesseth them to have been *Treasons*; not consequentially only, when an act may be declared to be *Treason* which in it self is not so; but such *Treasons* as all Mankind acknowledge to be such, *viz.* depriving Sovereign Princes of their Crown and Dignity, endeavouring by open *Rebellions*, and secret *conspiracies* to take away their Lives; if these be not *Treasons* there are none such in the world. And that these were the *Occasions* of the present *pænal Laws*, I shall not produce the Testimony of the *Lord Burleigh* in his *Book* published on occasion of the *pænal Laws*, called, *The Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion but for Treason*; imprinted at *London*, A. D. 1583. but I shall make use of the Testimony of Persons less lyable to the exception of our *Adversaries*, *viz.* *The Secular Priests*, who printed their *Important Considerations*, A. D. 1601. wherein their whole design is to shew, that the *pænal Laws*, considering the many *Treasons* which were the occasions of them, were very
just

just and merciful. For they acknowledge,

- 1. That the State of Catholicks was free from persecution the first ten years of Queen Elizabeth; and that Parsons and Creiwel confessed as much.*
- 2. That themselves were the true Causes of the change that was made towards them; by Pius 5. moving a Rebellion here by Ridolphi, exciting the King of Spain abroad to joyn his Forces, and denouncing a Bull of Excommunication against the Queen, and absolving her Subjects from their subjection, on purpose to foment their Rebellion for depriving her of her Kingdom: which they prove by particular circumstances.*
- 3. That they could hardly believe these things themselves, till they saw them expressed and owned in the Life of Pius Quintus, printed and allowed.*
- 4. That notwithstanding these things, and the Rebellion breaking forth 1569. the Prisoners were only under greater restraint, but none were put to death on that occasion, but only such who were in actual Rebellion: wherein they confess the Queen did no more, than any Prince in Christendom would have done.*
- 5. That upon these occasions a Parliament was called 1571. and a Law made against the bringing any Bulls from Rome, Agnus Dei's, Crosses, or Pardons; and against all persons that should*

procure them to be brought hither ; which Law although they think it to have been too rigorous, yet they cannot but confess that the State could not without the imputation of great carelesness of its own safety have omitted the making some Laws against those of their Religion. And although they were in their opinion too severe, yet they acknowledge, 1. That the occasions were extraordinary, most outrageous, as they expressed it. 2. That the execution of them was not so Tragical, as was represented. 6. They believe that neither this Law nor any other would have been executed upon them, had there not been daily new provocations : such as, 1. Sanders his confession in his Book *De visibili Monarchia*, that the Pope had sent two Priests, Morton and Web before the Northern Rebellion into the North to excite the Lords and Gentlemen to take up Arms : declaring to them that the Pope had excommunicated the Queen, and her Subjects were released from obedience to her ; and that Sanders doth justify the said Rebellion, and imputes the miscarriage of it, to the over-late publishing the said Bull ; affirming that if it had been sooner published, the Catholicks would undoubtedly so have risen, as that they must have prevailed against the Queen, and had certainly

executed

executed the said sentence at that time, for her deposition from the Crown. 2. Sanders his magnifying the Heads of that Rebellion, after they had been arraigned, condemned and executed by the ancient Laws of our Countrey for high Treason: which course since that time was followed by Parsons and others. 3. The full discovery of the plot of the Pope and King of Spain with the Rebels at home, for the depriving the Queen of her Kingdom. 4. Stukely's attempt in Ireland, assisted by Sanders and others; which was afterwards encouraged by the Pope himself; when Sanders publicly appeared as a Ring-leader of the Popes Forces to perswade the Catholicks to joyn with the Rebels already in Arms. 5. Gregory 13. renewing the Bull of Pius 5. against Queen Elizabeth. 6. Upon this the Jesuits coming into England, who were the chief instruments of all the mischiefs against the Queen; and of the miseries which they or any other Catholicks have upon these occasions sustained. 7. Parsons his endeavour to set the Queens Crown on another Head, as appeared by his Letter to a certain Earl. 8. In all the Plots, none were found to be more forward than the Priests; and the Laity, they say, if the Priests had opposed themselves to their designs, would have

been over-ruled by them. 9. All which considered, they confess, that no King or Prince in the world, disgusting the See of Rome, having either force or metal in him, would have endured the Priests, but rather have utterly rooted them out of their Territories, as Traytors and Rebels, both to him and his Countrey; and therefore they rejoyce unfeignedly, that God had blessed this Kingdom with so gracious and merciful a Sovereign, who hath not dealt in this sort with them: and that all Catholicks deserve no longer to live, than they hereafter shall honour her from their hearts, obey her in all things, so far as possibly they may, and pray for her prosperous Reign, and long life; and to their powers defend her against all enemies whatsoever.

7. They say, notwithstanding all the former provocations from the time of the said Rebellion and Parliament there were few above twelve that in ten years had been executed for their consciences (as we hold, say they, although our Adversaries say for Treason) and of those twelve some perhaps can hardly be drawn within our account, having been tainted with matters of Rebellion: and for the rest, although themselves knew them to be free from seditions, her Majesty and the
State

State could not know it, and they had great Cause as Politick persons to suspect the worst. 8. They confess, that a Parliament being called A. 1570. no Laws were made at that time against them: the antient Prisoners that had been more narrowly restrained A. 1570. were notwithstanding the Rebellion in Ireland again restored to their former liberty to continue with their Friends, as they had done before: and such who were not suspected to have been dealers or abettors in the said Treasonable actions were used with that humanity, which could well be expected. 9. The State having notice of the second excommunication, and having found the bad effects of the former was concerned in Policy to prevent the like by the second. And the jealousy was much increased by Sherwin's answer upon examination eight months before the apprehension of Campion. For being asked, whether the Queen was his lawful Sovereign, notwithstanding any sentence of the Popes? he refused to give any Answer. Then followed a greater restraint of Catholicks than at any time before; and in Jan. 1581. a Proclamation was made for calling home her Majesties Subjects beyond the Seas; especially those trained up in the Seminaries, pretending that they learned little

little there but disloyalty. The same month a Parliament ensued, wherein a Law was made agreeable to the Proclamation, but with a more severe punishment annexed, viz. the penalty of death, for any Jesuit or Seminary Priest to repair into England, &c.

10. They confess, that if all the Seminary Priests then in England, or which should come after, had been of the mind of Morton and Sanders, or Parsons, the said Law, no doubt, had carryed with it a far greater shew of Justice: but that was, say they, the error of the State, (and yet themselves say, the State could not know the difference between them) and yet they add that it was not altogether (for ought they knew) improbable, those times being so full of many dangerous designments and Jesuitical practices. 11. This same year Campion and other Priests were apprehended; whose answers upon their examinations agreeing in effect with Sherwins did greatly incense the State. For this being one of the Questions propounded, If the Pope pronounce her Majesty deprived, and her Subjects discharged of their obedience; and after either the Pope, or some by his Authority invade the Realm, which part would you take, or ought a good subject to take? To this, they say, some answered, that when the case should

should happen, they would then take counsel what were best for them to do : others, that when the case happened they would answer ; another, that he was not resolved what to do ; and another, that if such an invasion were made for any matter of his faith, he thinketh he were bound to take part with the Pope. Now, say they, what King in the world would not in the same circumstances, justly repute such persons Traytors, and deal with them accordingly ?

12. After this, a new plot was laid between his Holiness, the King of Spain, and Duke of Guise, for a sudden and desperate designment against her Majesty ; at which time they confess the Jesuitical humour had so possessed the hearts of sundry Catholicks, as they rue and are ashamed at the remembrance of it. And here they give a particular account of the Treasons of Throckmorton, Arden, Somerville, Parry, Northumberland, Babington, Stanley, defended by Cardinal Allen, who laid down this for a Maxim, That in all wars which may happen for Religion, every Catholick is bound in conscience to imploy his Person and Forces by the Popes direction, viz. how far, and where, either at home or abroad, he may and must break with his Temporal Sovereign. These things, they say, are necessary

sary to be known, to clear her Majesty from the imputations of more than barbarous cruelty towards them cast upon her by the Jesuits, when themselves were the Causes of all the Calamities any of them had indured since her Majesties Reign: and they think, all circumstances considered, few Princes living, of her judgement, and so provoked, would have dealt more mildly with such their subjects, than she hath done with them. 13. They confess the Spanish Invasion 1588. to be an everlasting Monument of Jesuitical Treason and Cruelty. For it is apparent in a Treatise penned by the advice of Father Parsons altogether (as they do verily think) that the King of Spain was moved and drawn into that intended mischief, by the long and daily solicitations of the Jesuits and other English Catholicks, beyond the Seas, affected and altogether given to Jesuitism; and that Parsons as they imagine, (though the Book went under a greater name) endeavoured with all his Rhetorick to perswade the Catholicks in England to joyn with the Spaniards: but Cardinal Allen takes it upon himself, and saith the Pope had made him Cardinal, intending to send him his Legat for the sweeter managing this (forsooth) godly and great affair: and there he affirms that there were

were divers Priests in the Kings Army, ready to serve ever mans necessity : and promises them the assistance of all the Saints and Angels, and of our Blessed Saviour himself in the Sovereign Sacrament (after a very invisible manner) and they do not at all deny, that the Pope did joyn and contribute towards this intended Invasion.

14. That in these ten years from 1580. to 1590. the Prisoners at Wisbich lived together without any trouble, Colledge-like, without any want ; that of all sorts towards the number of fifty suffered death ; as they think, most of them for conscience, but as their Adversaries do still affirm for Treason : that such Priests as upon examination were found any thing moderate, were not so hardly dealt with ; insomuch as fifty five that might by the Laws have been put to death, in one year 1585. and in a dangerous time, were only banished ; and that although some hard courses were taken against them, yet it was not by many degrees so extream, as the Jesuits and that Crew have falsely reported and written of it. 15. That there being just apprehensions of a new Invasion, a Proclamation was set out 1591. against Seminary Priests, as being suspected to be sent hither to prepare a way for it ; and Parsons did not only acknowledge such a design,

a design, but said the King of Spain had just cause to attempt again that enterprize : but in the mean time they tryed a shorter course by the several Treasons of Heskett, Collen, both set on by Jesuits, Lopez, York, Williams, and Squire, animated by Walpole the Jesuit. 16. That Parsons at last set up the title of the Infanta of Spain, and endeavoured to get subscriptions to it, and promises to perswade the Catholicks of England to submit to it ; and that the Seminary Priests were to promote her Title, against the Queen and her Lawful Successors. From all which they confess, that the Jesuitical designs abroad, and the Rebelions and Traiterous attempts of some Catholicks at home have been the Causes of such calamities and troubles, as have happened unto them ; great, (they confess) in themselves : but far less (they think) than any Prince living in her Majesties case, and so provoked would have inflicted upon us. And what more need to be said, for the Vindication of the Pœnal Laws from the charge of Injustice and cruelty, than is here so ingenuously confessed by the Secular Priests, men of the same Religion with those who complain of them, men that suffered themselves in some measure, men that throughly understood the true Reasons and

casions of the several Laws that were then made; and yet after all this, can Mr. *Cressy* have the impudence to parallel these Laws with those of *Nero*, *Domitian* and *Dioclesian*, and to say, *that they who suffered by them, suffered only on the account of Religion?* If the primitive Christians had been guilty of so many horrible Treasons and Conspiracies, if they had attempted to deprive Emperours of their Crowns, and absolved Subjects from their Allegiance to them, if they had joyned with their open and declared enemies, and imployed persons time after time to assassinate them; what would the whole World have said of their sufferings? Would men of any common sense have said, *that they were Martyrs for Religion?* no; but that they dyed justly and deservedly for their *Treasons*. And for all that I can see, all such as suffered in those dayes, for their attempts on their Sovereign and Countrey, are no more to be said to have *suffered for Religion*, than the late *Regicides*; who pleaded the *Cause of God and Religion* as well as they; and if the one be *Martyrs*, let the other be thought so too: but if notwithstanding all their fair pretences of *Religion and Conscience*, the *Regicides* shall not be thought to suffer for their *Religion*, why then should those in *Q. Elizabeth's*

Elizabeth's or *King James's* time, who suffered on the account of actual *Treasons*, as those did who were engaged in the *Gunpowder Treason*, as well as those who suffered in the *Queens* time? And if the supposition of *Conscience* or *Religion* makes all men *Martyrs*, the *Regicides* will put in their plea for *Martyrdom*; if it be not, then there is no reason to say they suffered for *Religion*, whom the *Law* condemned on the account of *Treason*. If it be then allowed, that the *Laws* must determin *Treason*, then it will follow that those suffer for *Treason* who act directly against those *Laws* which determine it to be *Treason*.

§. 22. But suppose the *Law* should make it *Treason* for men to serve God according to their *Consciences*; as for *Roman Priests* to officiate or say *Mass*; can such men be said to suffer for *Treason* if they be taken in the *Fact*, and not rather for their *Religion*? To this I answer, that a great regard is to be had to the occasion of making such a *Law* for the right interpretation of it. For if plain and evident *Treasonable actions* were the first occasion of making it, as it is confessed in *Q. Elizabeth's* time, then all those Persons lyable to the suspicion of the State, may be seized upon in what way soever they discover.

discover themselves; and in this case, the performing Offices of their Function is not the *motive* of the *Law* or *Reason* of the *penalty*, but meerly the *Means* of *Discovery* of the *Persons*. For by reason of *Disguises* and *Equivocations*, and *mental Reservations* being set on foot by the *Jesuits* to prevent discovery, the *Law* had no certain way of finding them out, but by the *Offices* of their *Function*, in which the Magistrates are sure they will not dissemble so far as that a man who is no Priest will not take upon him to say Mass: and therefore the *Law* looks upon the *Office* of *Religion*, as only a certain *Criterion* of the *Persons*, and not as the *Reason* of the *punishment*; not as the thing that makes them guilty, but as the way of finding the guilty. As if we should suppose upon the account of the *Treasons* of many years and frequent *Rebellions* and *conspiracies* for the destruction of the King and Kingdom, which any *Sectaries* among us should be found guilty of (as for instance, I will put the case of *Quakers* as more easily differenced:) I desire to know, whether if the *Law* made it poenal for men, *not to put off their hats*, only out of consideration of the *Treasonable doctrines* and *practices* they were guilty of, should that man who were taken because

he did not put off his Hat. he said to suffer on that account, and not rather upon the first *Reason* and *Motive* of the *Law*? In the *Statute* 23 *Eliz. c. 1.* the whole intent and design of the *Law* is expressed to be, *to keep persons from withdrawing her Majesties Subjects from their Obedience to her*: and because the *Pope* had engaged himself in several *Treasons* and *Rebellions* against her, by giving assistance to them, and endeavouring what in him lay to deprive the *Queen* of her *Crown*, therefore the drawing any persons to promise *Obedience* to the *Pope* is adjudged *Treason*, as well as to any other *Prince*, *State*, or *Potentate*. And where there is an equality of *Reason*, why should there not be an equality in the punishment? If any other *Prince* should have engaged Persons in the same actions which the *Pope* did, there is no question they had been *Treasonable actions*; the Question this, whether that which would be *Treason* if any other commands it, ceases to be *Treason* when the *Pope* allows or requires it? If it doth so, then the *Pope* must be acknowledged to have a supreme *Temporal Power* over *Princes*, and they are all but his *Vassals*, which is expressly against the ancient *Law* of 16 *R. 2.* if it remains *Treason*,

son, then those may be justly executed for *Treason* who do no more than what the Pope requires them, and which they may think themselves bound in Conscience to do.

But on this account may not any act of Religion be made Treason, if the Law-makers think fit to make it so ? By no means ; for in this case, there was an apparent tendency to disobedience and Treason in promising obedience to the Pope ; but there is no such thing in any meer act of Religion, considered as such : but when Priests have been known to be the common instruments of Treasons, as they were then, by the confession of the *Secular Priests* ; then those actions which are performed by such persons, and are proper only to themselves, are looked on in the sense of the Law and according to the intention of it, but only as the certain *means* of knowing the *Persons* whom the Law designs to punish. So that if we do allow, that the Law of the Land can declare *Treason* in any sort of Persons, and punish Persons for being guilty, and appoint a certain means of discovering the guilty ; then there is nothing in that severe Law

23 *Eliz* c. 1. which is not according to justice and equity ; always supposing, that some

notorious Treasonable actions, and not the bare acts of Religion were the first *Occasions* or antecedent *Motives* of those *Laws*, which is fully confessed and proved in this case by the most impartial witnesses, viz. *the Secular Priests*. And the Preface to the Statute 27 *Eliz. c. 2.* gives the best interpretation of the design of it, viz. *whereas divers persons, called or professed Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other Priests which have been, and from time to time, are made in the parts beyond the Seas, by or according to the Order and Rites of the Romish Church, have of late comen and been sent, and daily do come and are sent into this Realm of England and other the Queen Majesties Dominions of purpose, (as it hath appeared) as well by their own examinations and confessions, as divers other manifest means and proofs, not only to withdraw her Highness Subjects from their due obedience to her Majesty, but also to stir up and move Sedition, Rebellion, and open Hostility, within the same her Highness Realms and Dominions, to the great endangering of the safety of her most Royal Person, and to the utter ruine, desolation and overthrow of the whole Realm, if the same be not the sooner by some good means foreseen and prevented.*

For

For reformation whereof be it ordained, &c. Can any thing be plainer from hence, than that the whole scope and design of this Law is only to prevent treasonable attempts, though masked only under a pretence of Religion? If the design had been against their Religion, the Preface of the Law would have mentioned only the exercise of their Religion, which it doth not. But withal is there not a Proviso in the same Act, that it shall not in any wise extend to any Jesuit or Priest that will take the Oath of Supremacy; then it seems all the Religion they suffer for must be contained only in what is renounced by the Oath of Supremacy. And is this at last the suffering for Religion Mr. Cressy talks of, viz. for the Popes Personal Authority and Jurisdiction here? But who were the men that first rejected that Authority and Jurisdiction here? Former Princes long before the Reformation did it as far as they thought fit; and made no scruple of restraining it, as far as they judged convenient; and upon the same Reasons they went so far, H. 8. and other Princes might go much farther. For the reason they went upon was, the repugnancy of what they opposed to the Rights of the Crown; and was there any other

ground of the casting out the *Popes Supremacy*, when long experience had taught men that it was to little purpose to cut off the Tayl of the Serpent, while the Head and Body were found? But who were the zealous men in *Henry* the Eighth's dayes against the *Popes Authority* and Jurisdiction? Were not *Stephen Gardner* and *Bonner* as fierce as any against it? and if they were not in good earnest, they were notorious Hypocrites, as any one may see by reading *Gardners Book of True Obedience*, with *Bonnors Preface*; wherein very smart things are said, and with good Reason against making the *Supremacy* challenged by the *Pope* any part of *Catholick Religion*. Did not all the Bishops in *H. 8.* time, (*Fisher* excepted) joyn in rejecting the *Popes Supremacy*? And was there no *Catholick Religion* left in *England* when that was gone? It seems then the whole *Cause of Religion* is reduced to a very narrow compass, and hangs on a very slender thread. If there be no more in *Christian Religion*, than what is rejected by the *Oath of Supremacy*, it is a very earthly and quarrelsome thing; for it filled the World with perpetual broils and confusions, and produced dreadful effects where ever it was entertained; and leaves a sting behind where its power is cut off.

But

But the *Author* of the *Answer* to the *Execution of Justice in England, &c.* who is supposed to be *Cardinal Allen*, speaks out in this matter, and saith plainly, *that it is a part of Catholick Doctrine, that heretical Princes being excommunicated by the Pope, are to be deprived of their Kingdoms, and their Subjects immediately upon excommunication are absolved from their Allegiance; which he saith, is not only the doctrine of Aquinas, and Tolet, and of the Canon Law, but of the Council of Lateran, and as he endeavours to prove, of Scripture too: and that war for Religion is not only just but honourable; and for the deposing of Princes, he brings several instances from Gregory the seventh downwards: particularly King John and Henry the second; and saith, that the promise of obedience to Princes is only a conditional contract, and if they fail of their faith to God, they are free as to the faith they promised them.* This I confess, is speaking to the purpose, and the only way in appearance to make them *suffer for Religion*; for no doubt, these were the principles, which led them to those treasonable practices for which they suffered. But the main question remains still, whether *Treason* be not *Treason*, because a man thinks

concord.
Cathol.
part. 3. c. 4,
5, 6.

himself bound in *Conscience* to commit it ? and whether *Magistrates* have not reason to make severe *Laws*, when such dangerous and destructive principles to Government are embraced as a part of *Religion* ? If there be any such thing as *Civil Government* appointed by *God*, it must be supposed to have a just and natural *Right* and *Power* to preserve it self ; but how can it maintain it self without a just *power* to punish those that disturb and overthrow it ? if it have such a *Power*, it must have *Authority* to judge of those actions which are pernicious and dangerous to it self ; and if there be such a natural inherent *Right*, *Power* and *Authority*, antecedently to any positive *Laws* of *Religion* ; either we must suppose that *Religion* left *Civil Government* as it was, and then it hath the *Power* of judging all sorts of actions, so far as they have an influence on the *Civil Government*, so that no pretence of *Religion* can excuse *Treasonable actions* ; or we must assert that the *Christian Religion* hath taken away the *natural Rights* of *Government* which is very repugnant to the doctrine of *Christianity*, and all the examples of the *Primitive Church*. The substance therefore, of what I say about *suffering for Religion*, or for *Treason* is this ; that whatever principles or actions

actions tend to the destruction of the Civil Government, are in themselves Treasonable antecedent to Laws; that Laws may justly determine the nature and degrees of punishment, that those who are guilty of such actions, let them be done out of what principle soever, are justly lyable to punishment on the account of Treason; and in the judgement of the Law and Reason do suffer on that account, what ever private opinions they may have who do these things, concerning the obligations of Conscience to do them: and where there is just suspicion of a number of persons not easily discerned, the Laws may make use of certain Marks to discover them, although it happens that those marks prove actions of Religion; which actions are not thereby made the *Cause* of their suffering, but those principles or actions which were the first *occasions* and *Motives* of making those Laws. From which it is, I suppose, evident, that if the antient Poenal Laws were just and reasonable, our modern Laws are so too, because the *Occasions* of making them were of as high a *Nature*, and the guilt as proportionable to the penalty; and that men did no more suffer for *Religion* by these, than by the *Antient Poenal Laws*.

§. 23. 2. But supposing these *Laws* were acknowledged to be *just and reasonable*, as to the *Actors* of those *Treasons*, the Question is, *whether they continue just, as to other persons who cannot be proved actually guilty of those Treasons?* And here I confess, as to the principles of natural Reason, the case doth vary according to circumstances: For,

1. In a jealous and suspicious time, when many *Treasons* have been acted, and more are feared by virtue of bad principles, the Government may justly proceed upon the tryal of the principles to the conviction of Persons who own them, without plain evidence of the particular guilt of the outward actions of *Treason*. For the very designing of *Treason* is lyable to the severity of the Law, if it come to be discovered; and where the safety of the publick is really in great danger, the greatest caution is necessary for the prevention of evil; and some actions are lawful for publick safety which are not in particular cases. Especially when sufficient warning is given beforehand by the Law, and men cannot come within the danger of it without palpable disobedience, as in the case of *Seminary Priests coming into the Nation, when forbidden*

bidden to do it under severe penalties ; In which case the very contempt of the Law and Government, makes them justly obnoxious to the force of it. He that owns the principles that lead him to Treason, wants only an opportunity to act them ; and therefore in cases of great danger, the not renouncing the principles may justly expose men to the sentence of the Law. And if it be lawful to make any principles or declared opinions or words treasonable, it cannot be unjust to make men suffer for them.

2. In quiet times when the apprehension of present danger is not great, it hath been the Wisdom of our Government to suffer the course of Law to proceed, but not to a rigorous execution. For the Law being in its force, keeps persons of dangerous principles more in awe, who will be very cautious of broaching and maintaining those principles which they hold ; and consequently cannot have so bad effects, as when they have full liberty to vent them ; but in case Persons have been seized upon by the legal ways of discovery, who yet have not been actually seditious, it hath been the excellent moderation of our Government, not to proceed to any great severities.

3. There

3. There can be no sufficient reason given for the total repeal of Laws at first made upon good grounds, where there is not sufficient security given that all those, for whom they were intended, have renounced those principles which were the first occasions of making them. These things I yield to be reasonable.

1. That where there is a real difference in principles, the Government should make a difference; because the reason of the Law, is the danger of those principles; which if some heartily renounce, there seems to be no ground, that they should suffer equally with those who will not; but since the Law is already in being, and it is easier to preserve old Laws, than to make new ones; whether the difference should be by *Law*, or by *Privilege*, becomes the Wisdom of our Law-makers to determine.

2. That such who enjoy such a *privilege*, should give the greatest satisfaction as to their *sincerity* in renouncing these principles; for if there be still ground to suspect their sincerity in renouncing, by reason of *ambiguous phrases, equivocations in words, or reservations in their minds*, they give instead of real satisfaction, greater cause of jealousy, because of the abuse they

they put thereby upon the Government. For if men do *equivocate* in *renouncing equivocation* (which it is very possible for men that hold that Doctrine to do) they thereby forfeit their credit to so high a degree, that they cannot be safely trusted in any Oaths or Protestations. This therefore ought to be made sure, that men use the greatest sincerity in what they do, or else there is no ground to grant any favour upon their offers of satisfaction.

3. Where there is sufficient ground to believe, that the much greater number will not give sufficient satisfaction as to the renouncing the dangerous principles to Civil Government, there is no reason for a total repeal of the *Pœnal Laws* already established. For if the *Reason* of the *Laws* was just at first, and the same Reason continues, it becomes not the Wisdom of a Nation to take off the curb it hath upon a dangerous and growing party : and however cautious and reserved many may seem, while the Laws are in force, no man knows how much those principles may more openly shew themselves ; and what practices may follow upon them, when impunity tempts them. I do not plead for *sanguinary Laws* towards innocent and peaceably minded men

The Jesu-
its Reasons
unreasona-
ble. 1662.

men (whatever their opinions be ; and how hardly soever my Adversaries think and speak of me, I would shew my Religion to be better than theirs by having more Charity and Kindness towards them, than I fear they would shew me were I in their circumstances) but I find that even some of themselves think fit not to have those *Laws* taken off from men of the *Jesuitical Principles* ; as appears by a *Discourse* written to that purpose, since his Majesties Return, by one of their own Religion. Wherein he shews,

I. *That the Jesuitical party by their unjust and wicked practices provoked the Magistrates to enact those Laws ; and that their seditious principles are too deeply guilty of the Blood of Priests and Catholicks shed in the Kingdom ever since they came into it : and that it is their principle to manage Religion, not by persuasion but by command and force ; and then reckons up the several Treasons in Queen Elizabeth's time, the Jesuitical design of excluding the Scottish succession and title of our Sovereign ; the Gunpowder Treason ; which if it were not their invention, he confesses they were highly necessary to it, by prayers before hand, and*
publick

publick testifications, after the fact was discovered; nay many years after they did, and peradventure to this very day still do pertinaciously adhere to it. 2. That their practices of usurping Jurisdiction, making Colledges and Provinces in and for England; possessing themselves of great summs of money for such ends, are against the ancient Laws of the Land even in Catholick times; it being the Law of England that no Ecclesiastical Community may settle here, unless admitted by the Civil Power; and those that entertain them are subject to the penalties ordained by the Ancient Laws. 3. That it is no evidence of their Loyalty that any of them have been of the Kings side, it being a Maxim or Practice of their Society in quarrels of Princes and Great men to have some of their Fathers on one part and others for the contrary; which is a manifest sign they are faithful to neither. 4. That there is no ground to trust them, because of their doctrine of Probability; and their General can make what doctrine he pleases probable, for the opinion of three Divines is sufficient to make a Doctrine probable, and whatever is so, must be done by them when commanded by their Superiours; so
that

that the tenderneſs of their Conſciences is only about doing, or doing what their Superiours orders them : beſides, their doctrines about depoſing Princes, Equivocations, mental Reſervations, and divers other juggles. 5. That they have never yet re-nounced the doctrine of the Popes depoſing Princes ; that their Generals order againſt teaching this doctrine was a meer trick, and never pretended to reach England, that Santarellus his Book was Printed ten years after it, teaching the power of depoſing in all latitude ; and why ſhould the peace of Kingdoms have no better ſecurity than their Generals Order ? who knows how ſoon that may alter, when good circumſtances happen ? and then it will be a mortal ſin not to teach this doctrine : that the Jeſuits have never ſpoken one un-kind word againſt this Power of depoſing Princes ; that when the Pope ſhall think fit to attempt depoſing a King of England, no doubt their Generals Order will be re-leased. 6. That by their particular vow of obedience to the Pope, they are bound to do whatever he commands them ; as for example, if the Pope ſhould excommunicate or depoſe the Prince, and command them to move Catholicks to take up Arms, they are bound

bound by their Vow to do it. 7. That they make themselves Sovereigns over the Kings Subjects, by usurping a power of life and death over those of their Order for pretended crimes committed in England, which is High Treason ; for their Subjects have other Sovereigns besides the King. 8. That there can be no sufficient security given by them, who hold the Popes personal infallibility ; for whatever protestations, or renunciations they may make at present, they will be obliged to the contrary whensoever the Pope declares his judgement so : and therefore no hearty Allegiance can be expected from those who hold it, but such as must waver with every blast from Rome. 9. That they not only renounce the doctrines of Equivocation and Mental Reservation, without which all other protestations afford very little security ; but men ought to be assured, that they do not practise them, when they do renounce them ; and he desires them to find out some way for this, which it seems came not into his head. 10. That without renouncing those doctrines which are dangerous to the Civil Government there is no reason to expect favour from it : for temporal subjection to Princes is the main

ground of the peace and good Government of the Common-wealth ; and what is against that is against the Law of God and Nature.

§. 24. I now come in the last place to consider the proposals made by Mr. Cressy for satisfaction to the Government and the repeal of the pœnal Laws : which are of two kinds, 1. *Subscribing the censures of the Faculty of Paris 1663. and 1626.* 2. *Taking the Oath of Allegiance, if the word heretical were turned into Repugnant to the word of God.*

But, 1. It were worth knowing what Authority Mr. Cressy had to make these proposals in behalf of all the Roman-Catholics of England : he saith indeed, that his Book is published *permissu Superiorum*, and what he writes, is not the inconsiderable opinion of one particular person only : And what then ? It may be two or three more may be of his mind, it may be his Superiours are, it may be several Gentlemen not governed by the Jesuitical party are : but is the State of Affairs so mightily changed among them since 1662 ? Will not the same Reasons hold good still, that the Jesuitical party is

is not to be trusted in these matters : have they made any renunciation since, of any of those doctrines which were thought so dangerous then ? or are they quite gone from us, and to use Mr. *Cressy's* own comparison, *like Rats have forsaken a sinking Ship* ? It would be great Joy to the whole Nation to hear we were so well rid of them : but which way went they ? in what storm were they carried ? Was it in the late great *Hurricane* ? or were they conveyed invisibly through some passage under ground ? But they are subtle men, they say, and full of tricks, and therefore may seem to be gone and not be gone, even as they please. Mr. *Cressy* it seems hath a Power beyond *Proclamations*, for he can send away the whole *Fry* in a trice ; but a turn of his hand, and not a *Jesuit*, or a man of his *principles* appears more in *England*. But for all this, neither the *Benedictins*, nor *Secular Priests*, can get rid of them so easily ; they swarm and govern too much for their interests ; they have too many *Colleges* in *England* to forsake them so easily, and too rich a *Bank* to run away and leave it behind them : it may be, some of the poorer *Orders* would fain be *fingering* of it, and therefore represent the poor

harmless Jesuits, as the only dangerous persons to the Civil Government, whereas they think themselves as honest as their neighbours, and say, they hold no doctrines but what other Divines hold as well as they, and if they understood themselves they would find to be the doctrine of the Catholick Church for six hundred years; only a few temporizing Secular Priests, and some others out of spite to them, and hopes to get a better harvest to themselves when they are gone, would lay all the blame upon the Jesuits : whereas the doctrine they own was the general doctrine of their Church and received here in England, (the Council of Lateran which decrees the Popes power over Princes having been received here by the Council at Oxford A. 1222.) and what a do is made now with the Jesuits, as though they had been the first broachers and only maintainers of the doctrine of the Popes power of deposing Princes, which hath been decreed in Councils, accepted by Churches, and only opposed by some, out of the passions of fear or hopes from temporal Princes ? What do ye tell us, say they, of the Sorbon, a Club of State Divines, that act as if they believed the King of France's infallibility, though they

will

will not own the Popes? What matter is it what some few men say that are over-awed by Secular Princes? Shew us the Divines at Rome, where men may speak freely, that hold otherwise: Was the Popes Nuncio that appeared so bravely for the Catholick Cause in the Head of an Army in Ireland a Jesuit? or were all his adherents that cast off the Kings Authority there Jesuits? Are all the Anti-Remonstrants in Ireland Jesuits? And what think we, are not all those who opposed the Irish Remonstrance, very ready to give full satisfaction in these matters? Nay, in the good humour Mr. Cressy found all English Roman Catholicks, it was pitty, he had not gone farther; and who knows, but in so lucky a day, the Pope and Cardinal Barbarine might have subscribed the Censures of the Faculty of Paris? But well fare the honest Apologist for the Jesuits who answered the Reasons unreasonable, and declares that he is no Jesuit, yet he saith plainly, it would be a temerarious oath to forswear in general terms a deposing Power in the Pope, but to detest it as an heresie would be absolutely Schismatical: but he gives very foolish Reasons, why the effect of that power need not be feared in England;

because, forsooth, *Constantine left out England in his Donation to the Pope* ; did he so indeed ? it was a great kindness to the place of his Nativity. But withall he adds, *though there be much talk of King Johns Resignation of his Crown to the Pope, yet the Deed of Conveyance lies so dormant in the Vatican, that it could never be awaked or produced on any provocation.* And is this the security the Pope will never exercise his depoling Power in *England* ? But do not you think the *Pope* makes too much of it, to shew it to all comers ? and yet this *Apologist* need not have gone to the *Vatican*, to have seen that very *Bull* of the *Pope*, wherein *King John's Resignation* is contained ; for it was lately to be seen in *England*. But suppose *King John's Original* were burnt at *Lions*, as our *Historians* think ; hath the *Pope* never challenged any *Power* over *Princes*, but where they were *feudatary* to him ? Alas for his *Ignorance* ! the *Pope* for a need hath a threefold claim to this *Power*, and he can make use of which he thinks best ; the *feudatary*, the *direct temporal*, and the *indirect temporal*. The *Feudatary* is by *voluntary resignation*, the *direct temporal* by the *Canon Law*, and the

the *indirect* by the *Sins of Princes* ; for those, if they happen to be of a right kind, as *Herésie*, *Apostasie*, *Mis-government*, &c. give the *Pope* a notable title to their *Crowns*, for then they fall to him by way of *Escheat* as the *principal Lord* : but suppose the *Pope* should to save quarrels, quit the *Fendatary Claim*, what security is there against the two other, that may do as much mischief as the first ?

For all that I can see then, Mr. *Cressy* had not sufficient *Letter of Attorney* to declare in behalf of all the *Roman Catholicks*, that they would subscribe the *Censures* of the *Sorbon* ; for the *Popes deposing Power* is yet good doctrine among many of them. But why did Mr. *Cressy* take no notice of any *difference* among them about these points ? Must we *Protestants* be still thought such pittiful Animals, as not to know that which hath been publickly canvassed among them about the full Age of a man, *viz.* near seventy years ! Alas for us ! we never heard of *Blackwell*, and *Barclay*, and *Widdrington* of one side ; nor of *Bellarmin*, and *Singleton*, and *Fitzherbert* of the other : We have only a little *Grammar Learning*, and can make a shift to

understand the *Greek Testament*, and read *Calvins Institutions*, or *Danaus* upon *Peter Lombard*; but for these deep points, it is well we have ever seen those that have heard others say they have seen the *Books* that handle them. But why should *Mr. Cressy* so flily pass over the business of the *Nuntio* in *Ireland*? was that nothing to the purpose? Did not the *Person* of *Honour* mention it several times, that he could not avoid seeing it? But we must forget all those things; and *Cardinal Barbarins* Letters about the *Irish Remonstrance*: and whatever is material, if it cannot be answered, is better let slip. Yet, is it possible for us to believe that all *Roman Catholicks* are so willing now to renounce the dangerous doctrines; when there hath been so late, so numerous, so vehement, (nay, I had almost said) so *Catholick*, an opposition to the *Irish Remonstrance*? Not, as *Mr. Cressy* would have it believed, out of indignation at a particular person, (who had much greater Authority for what he did on the behalf of the rest by his *Procuratorium* than *Mr. Cressy* doth appear to have) nor a quarrel at phrases, but at the very substance of the doctrine contained in it. Was it

it only about *some phrases*, that the *Popes Interpunctio* at *Brussels de Vecchiis* condemned it : when he said, it contained in it *propositions agreeing with those already reprobated by Paul the fifth, and Innocent the tenth*, and this he expressed as the mind of the Pope. Was it only about *phrases*, when he said the *Remonstrance* would do more hurt than all the former persecutions of hereticks ? Was it only about *phrases*, when Cardinal *Barbarin* charged the *Remonstrants* with corrupting faith under a pretence of Allegiance to the King : and he adds too, that the *propositions* were condemned before by the *Apostolical See* ; and that his Holiness was troubled to the very heart about it ? Methinks, a few *Phrases* only, should not have given his Holiness so much disturbance. Was it only for *some phrases*, that the *Dominicans* opposed it, as contrary to the doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas*, who roundly asserts the *Popes power of deposing Heretical Princes* ? and they pleaded, they were sworn to maintain his Doctrine. It seems then, they can give no security to the State without perjury ; and I suppose there were some of these among *Mr. Cressy's Roman Catholics*, who were so ready to renounce this doctrine.

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the Irish
Remonstr.
p. 16.

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P. 49.

ctrine. Was it only for a few phrases, that the *Lovain Divines* condemned it, as wholly unlawful and detestable; and containing things contrary to *Catholick Religion*? The true grounds of which, were the taking away the *Popes power* over *Princes*, and the great *Diana of Ecclesiastical Liberty*. If *Mr. Cressy* accounts these but phrases, the *Court of Rome* owes him but little thanks for it. But this is so ridiculous a pretence, that all the quarrells about the *Irish Remonstrance* were only about a few phrases, that either he looks on the parties as extremely quarrelsome, or it must be some greater matter which he confesses was the occasion of so many commotions, dissensions, and scandalous invectives on both sides. Since then, there hath so long been, and we have reason still to believe there is, such a difference among them about these matters, how can *Mr. Cressy* undertake so boldly as he doth on the behalf of *English Catholicks* for the subscribing the *Censures* of the *Faculty of Paris*? But of all sorts of men, I am apt to mistrust great Undertakers.

§. 25. 2. But supposing they should subscribe the *Sorbon Censures*, we may yet question,

tion, whether hereby they would give full *satisfaction* in these matters: Mr. *Cressy* is of opinion, *that this would be a more full and satisfactory testimony of their Fidelity, than can be given by taking the Oath of Allegiance*; which makes me very much wonder, why they should refuse the less satisfactory, and choose that which is more. But men had need to have fast hold, that are to handle such slippery points as these are; for when we think we have them safe, they slip through our Fingers and escape. Those who have not considered all their arts and evasions in these matters, would think they offer as fair things as any men in the world; but when it comes home to the point, there is some fly distinction or mental reservation, by which they get through all, and are as much at liberty as ever. That alone which in our *Age* and *Kingdom* can give satisfaction, 1. *Must reach our own case*, and not that of the *King of France*; i. e. 1. Of a *King* not of the same *profession of Religion* with those who make the *profession of Fidelity*; 2. Of a *King* or *Kingdom* already under *censure of excommunication*, as *Cardinal Barbarin* declared: 3. Of a *King*, not barely considered as a *King*, i. e. while

i. e. while he remains such, and the Pope doth not declare him *not to be a King*; but so as to declare it, *not to be in the Popes power, to make him no King.* For men may subscribe the *Censures* of Sorbon, understanding them of *Kings* of their own *Religion*, not *excommunicated* by the Pope, and while the Pope doth not declare them to be *no Kings.* 2. What gives satisfaction in our case, *must exclude all manner of equivocation and mental reservation*; For where that is not excluded, there can be no security at all given; it being impossible to bring *equivocations* and *reservations* within any bounds; nay, those who hold it lawful to use them, may deny it, and do it in denying it; therefore the matter of *equivocation* must be stated, how far, and upon what terms, and in what cases they allow it; and yet there may be *equivocation* in all this. So that as *equivocation* hath all the advantages of *lying*, it hath the *disadvantage* too, *viz.* that those who use it cannot safely be trusted, though they do not use it; because though it be possible they may not, no man can be well assured that they do not. But the *Sorbon censures* never mention *equivocation* at all, and therefore I do
not

not wonder to see such as Mr. *Cressy* ready to bring in those, instead of the *Oath of Allegiance*, because although himself and some others may disown the doctrine of *equivocation*, yet if that be not expressly excluded, they know the very *Jesuits* will swallow a *Camel*, let them but have the *dress*ing of him. They know so many tricks of *Legerdemain*, that I do not see why a very *cunning Jesuit* may not then think himself a fit match for the *Devil* himself; for let him make never so many promises in *words*, he would have such a *secret Reservation* in his *Mind*, as should make his Words to signifie nothing. But it is not safe for them to play such tricks with so old a *Sophister*, that first found out the way of *equivocation*.

3. What gives satisfaction in our case, must exclude absolutely all power of *Dispensing in the Pope*; for if that be reserved, they are safe enough; they know how to get out presently, for they have one ready that can knock off all their shackles, and set them as free as ever; nay, they have yet another fetch concerning the *Popes power*, for he can *null* an Oath before-hand, and make it stand for nothing, as well as absolve them from it after-

afterwards. But how then can the *Sorbon censures* be so satisfactory in our case, when they never so much as mention the *Popes power of dispensing*, much less disclaim it so plainly as it ought to be done, to give satisfaction? So that we see, it is not without reason Mr. Cressy would so willingly have the *Oath of Allegiance* changed for the *Sorbon Censures*: and I do not at all wonder that fourteen *Jesuits* in *France* offered to subscribe the *Sorbon censures* 1626. which Mr. Cressy offers, as the most satisfactory Form, who never yet could well swallow the *Oath of Allegiance*; for they very well knew whatever they did swear in *France* could be dispensed with at *Rome*.

§. 26. 3. But farther he declares their readiness to take the *Oath of Allegiance* it self, if the word *Heretical* were left out. Whose readiness doth he mean? All *Roman Catholicks*, *Jesuits* and all? And hath this indeed been the only bone of contention thus many years? Did *Bellarmin*, *Suarez*, *Lessius*, *Fitz-herbert* and the rest of the opposers of this *Oath*, find no other fault with it, but only that a Doctrine was declared *heretical*, which was
never

never condemned in any *General Council*? Would they have been content to have called the *Popes power of deposing Princes new, false, erroneous, and contrary to the word of God*, though not *heretical*? For shame, let not men go about thus to impose upon us, as though all the *difference* were about this nicety in the signification of a word. It would be needless in so plain a case to shew upon what principles those went who opposed the *Oath of Allegiance*; but I shall only instance in *Fitzherbert*, being of our own Nation, and as considerable as any; he therefore insists upon it, *that it is an unlawful Oath, because it flatly contradicteth the Lateran Council, as to the Popes power of deposing Princes*: but that is not all, but his design is at large to prove, *that it is repugnant to the Law of God in the Old and New Testament, to the practice of the Church, and expresse declaration of the Pope by three Apostolical Breves*; and to those that object, *that the Popes first Breve was obtained surreptitiously and for want of good information*; he saith, *it is not only ignorance but malice in any to say so, because the Pope published another Breve on purpose*

*Fitz-herb.
Reply, ch. 4.*

*ch. 5, 6, 7;
&c.*

*ch. 17. p.
112.*

purpose to declare that the first was not surreptitious, but written upon his own certain knowledge, motion, and will, and after long and grave deliberation had concerning all things contained therein, and that therefore the Catholicks were bound to observe it wholly rejecting all interpretations to the contrary; and by his third Breve he gave Authority to the Arch-Priest to deprive all Seminary Priests under his Jurisdiction that had taken the Oath, or had taught or did still teach it to be lawful to take it; Nay, he adds farther to take off that common evasion, that the Pope was not duly informed, that before the sentence passed against it at Rome, it was long debated in certain Congregations of Learned Cardinals, and other great Divines; wherein Cardinal Bellarmin had but one voyce, and Father Parsons (whom they suspect to have misinformed the Pope) none at all. Now the Pope did not condemn it meerly on the account of the word *Heretical*, but because he said, the Oath contained in it many things, contrary to faith and the salvation of souls. And therefore all those who have any regard to the Popes sentence in a matter of such importance have
other

other *Reasons* to decline taking the *Oath*, supposing the word *Heretical* were left out. But some men love to pretend that a small alteration in established *Laws* would satisfy them, to try if by those arts, they could bring the *wisdom* of the *Nation* to yield to them in that, and when they have obtained it, then a thousand other objections are raised that were not mentioned before : so I doubt not but it would be in this Case, if the word *Heretical* were left out, and when they had gained this point, then they would start another, and another till the whole Oath were brought to Nothing, and I *A. B.* left to stand alone. But it is a very strange thing to me, that they who can swallow all the other parts of the Oath should stick so much at the word *Heretical* ; for if they would use some of the same mollifying distinctions that they do about the other parts of it, methinks *Heretical* might go down as glib as the rest. Were I of their Religion, I should more scruple *detesting*, *abjuring*, and *abhorring from my heart*, than calling a thing *Heretical* ; the other are downright and plain words capable of no Ambiguity ; but *Heretical*, is a word, that may signifie this or another

ther thing, as men please. That is *Heretical* with one that is not with another; and *Heretical* may be meant in the sense of the *Givers*, and not the *Receivers*; which is Mr. Cressy's way. But besides, what is it is said to be *Heretical*? That *Princes which be Excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever*; where or being a disjunctive particle, if to say that *Princes deprived may be murdered be Heretical*, though to say *they may be deposed be not*, yet that is enough to make a *disjunctive proposition* true. This is one of *Widdringtons* wayes; but he hath yet two more; viz. that, as *heretical* doth not imply equality but similitude, and that they do abhor and detest it as much, as if it were formal heresie; but the main of all is, that a thing is not therefore heretical because the Church defines it; but because it is repugnant to Catholick Faith, or which is all one to that which is revealed by God; which he proves to be the proper notion of heresie, from Alphonſus à Castro, Covarruvias and others: and if this were not the true notion of it, the Church would have power to make new articles of Faith; and

Adjoynder
to Fitz
Herberts
first and
second
part. p 73.
N. 106.
p. 69.

and therefore upon the same ground that any person rejects any doctrine *as repugnant to the word of God*, he may reject it *as heretical*. I cannot therefore imagine, whatever Mr. Cressy says, that it would give such general satisfaction to have the word *heretical* turned into *repugnant to the word of God*; for I cannot think the *Roman-Catholick Gentlemen* to be men of so weak understandings, to be able to digest all other parts of the *Oath*, and to refuse taking it only on the account of the word *heretical*. I must therefore beg pardon, if I be not of too easie a faith in this matter; it is easie to guess where the *Oath* pinches, better than so.

§. 27. 4. But after all this, I am not satisfied, with the grounds of Mr. Cressy's hopes, *that the taking off the objection as to their Loyalty may be sufficient reason for the Toleration of their Religion*; which is the thing aimed at in this Discourse. For although the inconsistency of any Religion with the Civil Government be a sufficient ground against the Toleration of such a Religion; yet its not being inconsistent is not enough for its Toleration. For the matter of Toleration, in a

Epist. Apol.
p. 98.

Nation where there is a *Publick Religion* established by *Law*, hath a respect two wayes, to the *Civil Government*, and to the *Established Religion* : and the *Civil Government* is bound to defend and protect the *Established Religion* ; because it is agreed on all hands that it is bound to defend the *True Religion*, and that is declared by the *Laws* to be the *True*, which is established by them. Now, if a party appears active and dangerous, whose Principles are destructive to the Religion established by Law, I appeal to any man of common sense, whether it be sufficient ground for the Toleration of it, that one objection is taken off, when the other remains in its full force ? That which is then to be considered in this case, is, whether such a party, which is dangerous without Toleration, will grow less dangerous by it ? which I think needs no great consideration ; and it will require as little, to shew the danger that will come to the *Established Religion* by a *Toleration* of *Papery* : not only by the diligence, industry, and number of the *Priests*, who will be glad to make *new Converts* to gain *new Residences*, (they being at present so much over-stocked ;) besides their
desires

desires to approve themselves to the *Court* of *Rome* for preferments by their activity ; and telling brave stories beyond Seas of their exploits against *hereticks*, (as a late *Miles Gloriosus* among them hath done) how many *Legions* of *Hereticks* they have blown away by the *Power* of *Principles* and *Demonstrations* ; but, by the obligation that lyes upon them that receive *preferments* from *Rome*, to *persecute Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Rebels to the Pope to their uttermost* ; which is expressed in the *Oath* they take to the *Pope* ; as appears by the *Pontifical* ; so that these men must either be *perjured*, or *persecute* when it lyes in their *Power*. And can any Nation in the World think it *Wise* or *Safe* to give *Toleration* to *Wolfs* among *Sheep* ; to those that have solemnly sworn to *persecute to their power all that own the Establish'd Religion* ? and that look upon all such as in a damned condition that do not submit to their Church ? Till they abate of their monstrous uncharitableness, till they renounce their *Oaths* to the *Pope*, till they can give good security of their quiet behaviour in not seducing others, what presence can there be, for their being allow-

ed a free exercise of their Religion, supposing they should take the *Oath of Allegiance* ? But as to their *dignified Clergy*, I mean such of his *Majesties Subjects*, whom the *Pope* hath taken upon him to make *Bishops* without his consent (which was not suffered by some *Princes*, even in times of *Popery*) it ought farther to be considered, what security any following *Oath* can give as to those that have taken a former *Oath of Allegiance* to the *Pope* ? as I have already proved it to be ; as much as *King John's* was, upon the *Resignation* of his *Crown* ; nay yet farther, they are bound now by that *Oath to defend all those Provisions and Reservations, and Apostolical Mandates*, which were accounted the intolerable grievances of this Nation, long before the Reformation.

But why may they not enjoy equal liberty with the Sectaries ? I am not pleading the *Sectaries* Cause, (neither would others plead it now but for a farther end) nor would I extenuate the guilt of their *Separation* ; but they are blind, that do not see the difference between the parties, if not as to number, yet as to interest, foreign dependence, and danger to the Church

Church of *England*: for surely, a man is not in so much danger of being stung to death by *Gnats*, as being poisoned by *Vi- pers*: I mean in respect of the avowed principle of *Persecuting* all dissenters, in the *Roman Church*: which it were easie to manifest, not only from our domestick story, and the entertainment in *Queen Ma- ries* dayes; and from the *History* of the *Inquisition* abroad; but from the *Cabal* at the *Council* of *Trent* between the *Popes Legats*, and the *Embassadours* of *Catholick Princes* about the utter extirpation of the *Protestant Religion*; and the designs that were carried on in prosecution of this in most parts of *Europe*, especially in *Ger- many*, *Flanders*, and *France*; but I shall not meddle with the secret *Intrigues*, but the open and avowed principles. In *France*, *Claudius de Saintes* published a *Book* against *Toleration*, A. D. 1561. wherein he pleads with all his strength for the utter extirpation of *Protestants*; the like did *Jacobus Pamelius* in *Flanders*; and both of them answer all the common and popular arguments now brought for *Toleration*: the same did *Scioppius* in *Ger- many*; and we all know what the dread- ful consequences were in all those places.

*Revelatio
Consiliorum
que initio
Synodi Tri-
dentinae in-
ter Pontifi-
cem, Casa-
rem ceteros-
que Reges,
Principes,
&c. sunt
inita. A.
1620.
Ad Edicta
Principum
de libertate
scularum.
Auct. Clau-
dio de
Saintes.
Jacob. Pa-
melii de Re-
ligionibus
diversis no-
admit.
Anw.
1589.
Casp. Sciop-
pii Classi-
cum Belli
Sacri Ti-
cini. 1619.*

But this is a subject too large to enter upon now: For my part, I am no Friend to *Sanguinary Laws* on the account of *Religion*; and if the *Wisdom* of our *Law-makers* should think fit to change that *popular way* of publick suffering (which the sufferers would have still believed to be for *Religion*) into a more effectual course of suppressing the growth of a party so dangerous to our established *Religion*, I should more rejoice, it may be, therein, than those who are more concerned in it. Provided, that the pretence of making *new Laws* more accommodate to our present State, be not carried on meerly with the design of leaving our Church without any security by *Law* at all against so violent and dangerous a party: for it is a much easier matter to repeal *old Laws*, than to make new ones. And if the objection against the old *Laws* be, *that they are not executed*, it ought to be considered whether the same objection will not lye against others, unless they be such *Laws* as will *execute themselves*; and we have little Reason to believe that they who bid defiance to our present *Laws*, and make *sport* with *Proclamations*, will be perswaded by gentler means

to obey others. And is such an affront to
Laws a sufficient *Motive to Lenity*?
 And we have good ground to think, that
 that they look upon all our *Laws*, what-
 ever they be, as things of no force at all
 upon their *Consciences*, as being null in
 themselves, because they are contrary to
 the *Popes Authority and the Constitutions*
 of their Church. And I believe if our
 modern *Papists* were pressed home, the
 generality of those who are obnoxious to
 the *Pœnal Laws*, would not acknowledge
 those *Ancient Rights* of the Crown, which
 were challenged by *William the Conque-*
rour, William Rufus, Henry the first, Hen-
ry the second, (before his submission to
 the Pope) and afterwards by *Edward the*
first, and Edward the third; viz. *No ex-*
ercise of any forreign jurisdiction here
without the Kings consent; *no Liberty of*
going out of the Kingdom, though upon the
Popes Command, without the Kings leave;
 and while they allow this Power to the
 Pope to command his *Majesties Subjects*,
 they make him *Sovereign* over them,
 and make them more fearful of disclaim-
 ing his Power; *No Decrees of Popes or*
Bulls to be received without the Kings ap-
probation; *No Bishops to be made by Pa-*
pal

pal Provisions out of the plenitude of his Power, &c. Those who will not reject these, which were challenged by the *Kings of England* long before the *Reformation*, as their *ancient and undoubted Rights*, with what face can they plead for the *Repeal* of the *Pœnal Laws*? when the *ancient Law of England* makes them guilty of *violating the Rights of the Crown*. If they say, *the Case is not the same now upon the Change of Religion*; I desire to know of them, whether any *ancient Rights of the Crown* are lost by casting off the *Popes Authority*? if they be not, they are good still, and what are they then that deny them? if they be lost, then our *Kings* have lost some of their *Sovereign Rights* which their *Ancestors* valued above half *their Kingdoms*; and how could they lose them by casting off the *Pope*, if they did not receive them from him? If they received them from him, then they make the *Kings Power* to be so far at least derived from the *Pope*; for if it were independent upon him, how could they lose any *Power*, by casting off the *Popes Authority*? If it be said, *that these were priviledges granted by the Popes*; I utterly deny it; for our *Kings* challenged them in spite of the *Popes*,

Popes, and exerted them in direct opposition to their *Bulls* and *Decrees*; even the *Decrees* of *Councils* as well as *Popes*, as is fully manifested in the foregoing Discourse. How then can such men plead for the repeal of *Penal Laws* whose principles do so directly contradict the ancient acknowledged *Rights* of the *Crown of England*? For others that will not only own these ancient *Rights*, but give sufficient security without fraud and equivocation, of their sincerity in renouncing the *Popes* power of *deposing Princes*, and other Principles destructive to Government; since it was never the intention of our *Laws* to persecute such, they need not fear the enjoyment of all Reasonable Protection by them. But it doth not become me to discourse of such points which are far more proper for the *wisdom* and *Council* of the *whole Nation*: And I know no true *Protestant* would envy the quiet and security of innocent and peaceable men, where there is sufficient assurance, that by favour received they will not grow more unquiet. But we cannot take too great care to prevent the restless designs of those, who aim at nothing more, than the undermining and blowing up our established *Church* and *Religion*: Which God preserve.

Thus

Thus much may serve for an Answer to these points of Mr. *Cressy*'s Book, the rest I leave to a better hand.

And now My Lord, what reason have I to beg pardon for so tedious a Discourse ! But I know your Lordships love to the Cause, as well as to the Person concerned, will make you ready to excuse and forgive,

My Lord,

*Your Lordships most humble and
obedient Servant,*

Edw. Stillingfleet.

This much may serve for an Answer
 to the points of Mr. Giff's Book, the rest
 I leave to a better hand.

And now my Love, what reason have I
 to beg pardon for to require a Dis-
 count? But I know your Friendship
 love as the Sun, as well as to the
 bottom of my heart, will excuse me for
 my weakness and forgive me.

Yours

My Love, I have been thinking of you
 much lately, and how much I love you.

Yours







